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## Now, at the last Moment, let us Rescue Sacco and Vanzetti!

By Paul Stein (Berlin).

By its latest action regarding the carrying out of the death sentence the American bourgeoisie is continuing its old, cruel game. The tortures of Sacco and Vanzetti are increased. We are familiar with the capitalist justice of all countries, but the case of Sacco and Vanzetti stands apart by itself.

If in the free World Soviet Republic of the future, by some miracle, all memories and records of the vanquished capitalist world were annihilated and there remained over only the records of the trial of Sacco and Vanzetti, these would completely suffice in order to reconstruct the true nature of bourgeois society. For in the case of Sacco and Vanzetti there is reflected as in a "dew drop" the world-embracing struggle between labour and capital, the entire lying fraud of bourgeois democracy, all the cruelty of bourgeois class justice and, not the least, the role of the social democracy as confederate and saviour of the bourgeoisie.

In the period of intensified class struggle, in the period of imperialism, the most ruthless means are being employed by the bourgeoisie to maintain its rule in face of the attack

of the working class. The thousands and thousands of workers corpses in Hungary, Germany, Italy, Bulgaria, Poland, Roumania, China, Austria etc. are a bloody proof of this. But the case of Sacco and Vanzetti undoubtedly deserves a "place of honour" in the history of bourgeois class terror.

What is the real political import of this Trial?

Sacco and Vanzetti were condemned to death not because they "have committed a murder" — the workers of all countries, in fact everybody knows that Sacco and Vanzetti are absolutely innocent —, but because they are revolutionary class fighters, because, during the imperialist war, they agitated against the war-makers, distributed anti-imperialist leaflets; because, after the war, they worked in the American trade union movement as active revolutionaries. They were denounced as "Reds", and as such are to be got out of the way.

The condemnation of Sacco and Vanzetti did not at the beginning arouse that response among the working class which it ought to have aroused. In the wave of Communist persecutions prevailing in America at that time the case of Sacco

and Vanzetti appeared to be of little importance. Gradually, however, broader strata of the workers became alive to the meaning of the trial.

In the whole world there set in a powerful protest movement, the like of which is not to be found in the history of protest movements. The workers protested against the intended judicial murder at thousands of meetings; hundreds of thousands of protest telegrams were sent to the American judicial authorities; even a section of the liberal bourgeoisie joined the protest movement of the workers.

The American bourgeoisie was several times obliged to draw back, to postpone repeatedly the date of the execution; but it did not release its victims. The workers, on their part, recognised more and more that the cause of Sacco and Vanzetti was their own cause, that it was a question of their own vital interests. Thus the fight for the release of the two revolutionary fighters developed into a sort of trial of strength between the working class and the bourgeoisie, which possesses the greatest importance in the present situation of the increased offensive of capital and the threatening war on the Soviet Union. That is the reason why the American bourgeoisie is so obstinately defending its position in the case of Sacco and Vanzetti, why it wishes to save at all costs its soiled prestige, why it ignores the new evidence which the Defence Committee have obtained to save Sacco and Vanzetti and which proves beyond all doubt the innocence of the two accused.

The news of the refusal to grant a new trial, which meant the final confirmation of the death sentence, aroused the excitement and indignation of the workers of the whole world. Protest demonstrations were held in every country. In Argentina a boycott moment was instituted against American goods. In France the government prohibited protest demonstrations on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti, but in spite of this tremendous demonstrations were held which were attended by hundreds of thousands. The reactionary press on its part increased beyond all bounds the incitement against the "Bolsheviki" Sacco and Vanzetti. Thus we see on the one side the rallying of the workers, without distinction of Party, and on the other side the rallying of the whole reactionary bourgeoisie.

How does the Social Democracy behave in this fight? The American reformist leaders sabotage the protest campaign of the working class for Sacco and Vanzetti. Their friends in Europe do the same. The Paris Congress of the I. F. T. U. it is true, approved in principle the proposal of Fimmen to carry out a boycott of American goods, but it is clear that this resolution, if it depends for its carrying out upon Jouhaux and Leipart, will merely remain on paper. The German General Federation of Trade Unions and the Social Democratic Party of Germany rejected a proposal for common action of the German proletariat in order to wrest the victims from their murderers at the last moment. That is not all. With the plea "not to injure the whole movement on behalf of the two victims" the reformist C. G. T. in France forbade its members to take part in the 24 hours protest strike which had been called by the revolutionary C. G. T. U.

The result of the life and death struggle for Sacco and Vanzetti depends to a great extent upon how far it will be possible to intensify the struggle in the last hour, to draw the broadest masses of workers into the battle-front and to mobilise them not only in protest demonstrations, but for the application of more effective means, such as the strike, boycott etc. There are signs to hand that the working masses are prepared to respond to the call of the Communists who stand at the head of the fight to rescue Sacco and Vanzetti. This is the only guarantee that the American bourgeoisie will even yet shrink before the powerful and growing protest movement and release Sacco and Vanzetti.

## Save Sacco and Vanzetti!

Appeal of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

To the Communists of All Countries!

To the Workers of the World!

Once again at the eleventh hour the Communist International addresses itself to the workers of the whole world. Once again it raises its voice and calls upon the workers of the world to stay the executioner's arm, to prevent the carrying out of the brutal sentence of American class justice. The workers of all countries have expressed their indignation at the torture

of the two revolutionaries Sacco and Vanzetti who have been in prison under fear of death for years. The sentence is an unparalleled challenge to the workers of the world. The sentence is the beginning of a new and terrible campaign of reprisals not only against the American, but also against the international working class. The sentence shows that in "civilised America" only one technical perfection falls to the share of the proletarian revolutionaries — the electric chair.

We appeal to all workers, to all revolutionary organisations: Protest passionately against the carrying out of the sentence; organise mass demonstrations against the instigators of this crime; organise protest strikes!

Only the united efforts of the whole world proletariat can save Sacco and Vanzetti from the electric chair! All to the fight against the blood-thirsty American bourgeoisie!

Moscow, 6th August 1927.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

## Prevent the Murder of Sacco and Vanzetti!

Moscow, 4th August.

The Executive Committee of the International Red Aid has published the following appeal:

"A murder is being planned. Prevent its execution! The death sentence upon Sacco and Vanzetti has been confirmed. On the 10th August two innocent men are to be done to death. A cold blooded murder is to be committed.

Sacco and Vanzetti have been in prison now for six years. For six years, every day has shown the intenable of the sentence passed upon them. Six years have proved their innocence beyond a shadow of a doubt. For six long years the whole world has protested, the toilers and all honest opponents of capitalist class justice, have protested against this terrible legal murder.

For six years a blood-thirsty band of cynical representatives of American class justice have prepared the gallows for Sacco and Vanzetti whose only crime is that they have fought for a better future for humanity. Now the bloody hangmen want to finish their work, today they wish to murder their victims.

Workers of the world, intellectuals, all people who have maintained their sense of justice, protest! Prevent the hangman's handiwork! Demonstrate! Send delegations!

Whoever does not protest against this murder has not done his duty. This murder is a challenge to the whole civilised world which has fought for six years for justice for Sacco and Vanzetti. Whoever does not do everything possible to prevent this murder is making the hangman's handiwork easier to perform.

Workers, intellectuals of all countries, prevent the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti!

## POLITICS

### The Fiasco of the Naval Disarmament Conference.

By Rudolf Haus (Berlin).

At the beginning of February last President Coolidge addressed a "Disarmament Message" to the governments of England, Japan, France and Italy. The message stated that the disarmament work of the League of Nations had proved to be absolutely bankrupt. A disarmament Conference must be convened at once to deal with the question of naval disarmament.

This proposal of America was quite in line with the policy of American imperialism with regard to the League of Nations. In the "Preparatory Commission of the Disarmament Committee of the League of Nations" America had several times brought its fist down on the table because the American proposals were not accepted.

France and Italy were greatly annoyed at Coolidge "message of peace". They felt no desire for such disarmament. They had not forgotten the Washington Agreement. They declared very plainly that they are not inclined to be parties to a second Washington Agreement.

England and Japan thought the same as France and Italy. But they could not simply reject Coolidge's offer. England and Japan showed considerable delay, but finally attended the negotiations.

American imperialism demanded that the Washington Agreement should be extended.

The Washington Agreement of 1922 was a severe blow to England's prestige. For several centuries Great Britain had been the undisputed mistress of the sea. For centuries the principle that the British fleet must be as strong as the combined fleets of any two other sea powers had remained unchallenged. Great Britain has been pushed from this dominating position. That is a tremendous blow to the British world empire. The strength of the British fleet was an important pillar of the Empire. The colonies and dominions — willingly or unwillingly — had placed themselves under the protection of the invincible fleet of Merry Old England. This pillar of the British Empire has now collapsed together with the economic predominance of England.

The Washington Conference proclaimed to all the world that England's sea power has been beaten — beaten by American imperialism. The results of the agreement arrived at between the three most important naval powers, America, England and Japan, was the following: the ratio of the tonnage of the battle-ships of the line of England, America, Japan, France and Italy must in ten years time be 5:5:3:2:2 respectively.

France and Italy, who by no means agreed to this arrangement, had to give way under the pressure of the stronger imperialists.

The Washington agreement, however, still left considerable room for armaments. What was limited was the building of big battleships. Also the building of mother ships for sea-planes was limited by the Washington Agreement. In face of the extraordinary importance which these mother-ships possess for a future naval war, America, for instance, has not allowed herself to be in any way bound by the Washington Agreement, but has built mother-ships for sea planes far beyond the tonnage permitted it. It simply designated these ships as auxiliary mother-ships.

To what a tremendous extent the imperialists have armed since the Washington Agreement is to be seen by comparing the number of ships in 1922 with those in 1926:

	U. S. A.		England		Japan	
	1922	1926	1922	1926	1922	1926
Battleships . . . . .	18	18	15	21	7	10
Cruisers . . . . .	10	31	37	49	14	28
Destroyers . . . . .	109	309	65	180	22	101
Submarines . . . . .	73	118	39	63	11	51

This table shows that America has not built at the same rate as England and Japan. In Cruisers England has gained the lead.

For this reason America proposed at the Naval Disarmament Conference that England should not build any further cruisers, and England was strongly against America building battleships. Agreement was arrived at in Geneva regarding the amount of tonnage; no agreement could be arrived at regarding the number of ships.

Why not? England needs cruisers which, together with the English naval bases scattered over the globe, form an excellent system of defence, while America, which has no naval bases outside the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans, wished to have a free hand in the building of battleships. America needs battleships in order to be able to operate over wide areas. It was the question: building of cruisers or building of battleships, which led to the breakdown of the Conference. On the one side there stood American imperialism, on the other side England and Japan.

What will American imperialism do now that England and Japan have proved to be recalcitrant? America will embark on a programme of furious naval armaments. How "peacefully" minded America is, is to be seen from the interesting fact that a few hours after England declared her willingness to take part in the Naval Disarmament Conference, Congress decided to increase the number of guns on three cruisers, although it was expressly stated that this new equipment of cruisers was contrary to the Washington Agreement. But it is no longer necessary to observe the Washington Agreement; that is dead and buried.

We can recognise Coolidge's real role when we call to mind his speeches delivered in Autumn last. He declared at that time that in the event of the desires of America not being fulfilled, America would commence an armaments' race that would surprise all the imperialist States. On another occasion he appears in the guise of an angel of peace. We must recognise that the American House of Representatives and the American President are two card-sharps who play with faked cards. The reverse side of the medal of capitalist love of peace is always insane competition in armaments.

The comedy of Geneva known as the Naval Disarmament Conference, did not even have a dignified ending which might have served to persuade the petty bourgeois philistines that the capitalist moloch was disarming. It has been proclaimed openly to the whole world that a new competition in armaments will begin, for surpassing anything experienced hitherto.

## Germany under the Bourgeois Bloc.

By Ernst Meyer.

The bourgeois bloc in Germany, which has now existed for six months, began its policy under the favourable auspices of an upward trend in economic conditions. Despite the friction existing among the parties composing it, the resistance which it has encountered has been less, owing to the fact that the majority of the reactionary laws which it has passed had already been prepared beforehand, by the governments openly supported by the German Socialist Party. The parties of the bourgeois bloc (German Nationals, German People's Party, and Centre) have been easily able to arrive at an understanding with one another for another reason besides this; the social democrats and the democrats have contented themselves in the various provinces, especially in Prussia, with making opposition in questions of secondary importance, not taken seriously by anyone (celebration of the Republican Constitution Day, etc.). At the same time these two opposition parties, in their capacity of members of the coalition governments in those German provinces where the Centre Party is also a member of the government, are bound by their connections to this Centre Party to pursue the policy of the bourgeois bloc in the separate provinces.

Hence the bourgeois bloc has greatly strengthened its position in the course of the half year, and has met with no serious resistance. The Communist Party of Germany, which has attempted to organise a real fight against the bourgeois bloc, has met with but little success. The wave of comparative prosperity, the lessening of the number of unemployed, and the rising wages in some industries, have tended to prevent a strengthening of the will to fight on the part of the workers. It is only quite recently that a change has come over the outlook of the working class. The social democrats, who have a keen sense for the trends of feeling in the masses, meet the changing standpoint with a suitable radicalisation of their phraseology. And the trade union bureaucrats, in spite of their disinclination to great struggles, endeavour to accommodate themselves to the radicalisation of the working class by means of movements for higher wages and shorter hours.

The bourgeois bloc, whose aim and object is to strengthen German imperialism with the aid of every means afforded by home and foreign policy, has been able to show considerable initial success. In Germany itself it has been able to record increased economic prosperity, with resultant taxation relief for the capitalists. In foreign politics the bourgeois bloc has been able to boast of equal success: the obtaining of a seat in the Colonial Commission of the League of Nations. Now, however, the bourgeois bloc finds itself confronted by considerable difficulties, both in home and in foreign affairs.

A number of extremely unpopular measures passed by the bourgeois bloc have aroused much indignation in the working class and petty bourgeoisie. The increased duties on potatoes, pork, and sugar, throw a heavy burden on the great masses of the consumers, but give no compensation to the small holders and peasantry, who continue to complain of high taxation, with its inevitable forced sales and even distraint. Prices are rising slowly but steadily. By the beginning of October rents will be higher by 20% than before the war. As the Dawes payments will be double their present amount next year, that is, 2.5 milliards, fresh increases in taxation

may be expected. The way is already being paved for these by new laws for the balancing of finances. The increased postal rates have aroused much dissatisfaction, and even the industries are protesting against them.

Among the intellectuals, a further cause for indignation is the introduction of a new school law, which delivers the elementary schools into the clutches of the church. The German People's Party has shown itself prepared to deny its liberal traditions and to vote for this priest-ridden control of the schools, although this involves the abandonment of the rights of the South German provinces as provided by the constitution. This perfidious action, however, only damages the People's Party, and is inducing the teachers and mental workers, who had already entered energetic protests in the spring against the increasing severity of the literary censorship, to join the opposition.

The bourgeois bloc had intended to conceal the economic burdens imposed on the masses and the deprivation of political rights behind a glamour of brilliant success in foreign politics. The German Nationals, for instance, have only been able to overcome the disappointment of their adherents caused by the assent given to the law for the protection of the republic and to the League of Nations policy, by promising their nationalist hangers-on, organised in the Defence Leagues, that a more independent and aggressive foreign policy is to be pursued. The bait offered these nationalist elements has been talk of a speedy evacuation of the Rhine country, hopes of increased armaments for Germany, and the raising of the question of who was to blame for the war.

But even here the bourgeois bloc has suffered one failure after another. It is true that the military control exercised by the Entente has been done away with in its open form, and that Germany has secured at Geneva a seat in the Colonial Mandate Commission of the League of Nations. But the aspirations of the German bourgeoisie for the repossession of at least the former German colonies in Africa run counter to the plans of Great Britain, which hopes to add German East Africa to Britain's established colonial possessions in Africa. The evacuation of the Rhineland is opposed not only by France and Belgium; England too has raised a voice against it of late. Every endeavour on the part of Germany to obtain a relaxation of the terms of disarmament imposed by the Versailles Peace Treaty is thwarted; French and Belgian statesmen and press join forces in a violent campaign against secret armaments in Germany.

Germany's endeavours to deny its responsibility for the war, and to break through the moral blockade drawn around her by the Entente during the war, are being thwarted alike by the French and the British semi-official press. The publication issued by the Reichstag on the war atrocities of the Entente met with the severest condemnation in Poincaré's speech in Orchiés, and in the no less explicit comments of the English "Times".

The increasing tension in Franco-German relations, and the undeniable disappointment of the German bourgeoisie at Great Britain's reserved attitude towards the far-reaching plans of German imperialism, react upon Germany's policy with respect to the British plans for encircling Soviet Russia. At Geneva, the expectation of a sufficiently high purchase price induced Stresemann to declare his delighted participation in the plans for the moral encirclement of the Soviet Union. But now voices are to be heard in German newspapers (for instance in the "Börsen Courier", in an article by Corbach) which even go so far as to excuse, indirectly, the Red terror of the Workers' and Peasants' state. And almost the entire German press does not conceal its joy over the American-British conflict about Russian oil. But this renewed attempt on the part of a section of the German bourgeoisie to assign to Germany the rôle of an "honest middleman" between the East and the West is not in the least likely to induce Great Britain to accede to the plans of German imperialism. Any great success in foreign politics can, therefore, scarcely be expected in the near future.

It would, however, be wrong to speak of a decay of the bourgeois bloc. On the contrary, the bourgeois bloc parties will strive to secure their influence by pressure upon democracy and social democracy. Marx's withdrawal from the Reichsbanner (republican defence corps), and the strict control kept by the Centre party over this black-red-gold organisation, show that the parties of the bourgeois bloc will not permit social democracy to exercise any great pressure on the bour-

geois bloc in any question. The threat of a rupture of the Prussian coalition is the medium by which the social democrats are restrained from turning to any serious account the anti-labour policy of the bourgeois bloc. At the present time the bourgeois bloc exists chiefly on the support lent it by the German Socialist Party in the different provinces of Germany. The social democrats are already calling off their fight against the Centre party — for new elections are in sight, and there is a possibility of being thrown out of the Prussian Coalition, and also a hope of a future new coalition with the Centre in the whole state, and not only in the provinces. But it is precisely this policy of the social democrats which is causing them the greatest injury; the German Socialist Party thereby renounces those successes which it might gain, in the Roman Catholic districts, were it to combat the Centre party energetically at the new elections.

We must look to the work of the Communist Party of Germany as the only hope of turning to good account the difficulties of the bourgeois bloc. This Party alone is endeavouring, by every available means of economic and political struggle, to gather together the masses suffering under the policy of the bourgeois bloc, for the overthrow of this bloc. It alone can be the leader in this struggle. For this reason the Communist Party is the object of the special hatred of the bourgeois bloc. The police and the law are directing all efforts, more determinedly than ever, towards the suppression of the Communist movement, and the ministries are already working zealously for the elaboration of new "legal" pretexts for weakening, or even prohibiting, the C. P. of Germany.

## The Situation in Austria.

The Capitulation of Austro-Marxism. The Hounding Down of Communists.

By W. Schlam m (Vienna).

The workers of the world experienced the heroic July struggle of the workers in Vienna in their own feelings. With indignation they saw how the fighting workers were betrayed by the social democratic leaders. They saw how miserably Austro-Marxism capitulated on the streets.

The defeat of the Austrian working class was caused by this abandonment of the struggle, by this capitulation of Austro-Marxism. It was a serious and definite defeat. The capitulation in the struggle was, however, not the end of the capitulation. The leaders of the Austrian social democracy are still on bended knees just where they fell in the days of the fighting. The capitulation still continues and is taking on ever greater forms.

From the fresh graves of the revolutionary workers the leading lights of Austro-Marxism went to their idolised parliament after having slandered the victims of the fighting. As is known, the only slogan of the social democratic leaders in their appeal on the 16th July was "All those responsible, from the government down to the lowest police officer, will be called to account in parliament!". As is known, the transport strike was called off on the 19th of July with the excuse that Parliament must be given the possibility of expressing its opinion on the events and for this purpose the members of Parliament must be afforded means of transport to come to Parliament (!).

The National Council, as the Parliament of Austria is called, met. Seipel triumphed and forced the social democratic members of Parliament to the defensive by an exhibition of the most cynical superciliousness. The National Council expressed its confidence in the government and rejected the social democratic proposal for the setting up of a commission of enquiry. That was the "Vengeance" which the social democrats obtained for the workers in parliament. The social democratic leaders? What should these poor wretches have done about the matter anyhow? They need another 7% of the votes before they have a parliamentary majority; until they get this 7% they are a defenceless minority of course!

Oh, but they dealt with the government thoroughly! Renner in particular, tore the laurel wreath from the brow of Seipel, the laurels which he had received as the saviour of the Fatherland. The government, he said, need not boast, for in the decisive days it was "more than helpless" and it was the "clever and sober policy" of the trade union leaders which contributed not a little to saving society!!



The social democratic leaders claimed that they saved society, and their claim is justified! Even a section of the bourgeoisie recognises this and is doubtful about the advisability of continuing the insolent and open attack upon the proletariat for too long. The representative of this wing of the bourgeoisie, the prelate Drexel, has issued what is practically an invitation to the social democrats to enter a coalition government, and Renner has acknowledged receipt of the invitation with pleasure. If there is no coalition in the immediate future, then the triumphant Seipel will alone be responsible for it.

Seipel does not need the coalition government. He sees no reason why he should give the social democrats ministerial seats in the Cabinet when he can get everything he wants from them anyhow.

And he gets all he wants from them! The social democratic "Opposition" has broken down completely even in parliament.

For nine months the social democrats have obstructed the intended customs robbery in the customs commission. But on the 29th of July the "General Debate", i. e. the obstruction was concluded! The whole bourgeois press is jubilant: "The National Council" is working again. The catastrophic events in Vienna have had at least one good result!"

For years the social democrats have obstructed the clerical school laws (remember the famous "Vienna school reform"), but on the 2nd August these laws were passed in the National Council. Seipel has supplied himself at the point of the bayonet with useful "arguments" against the obstruction!

Seipel the great business man managed to form his new government after his electoral defeat on the 24th April (He has made this defeat good since by volleys into the workers) only after difficult manoeuvres with ministerial posts for which his partners in the coalition eventually sold themselves. And because there was one more candidate for a ministerial post than there were ministerial posts, Seipel simply created a new one by restoring the portfolio of the Minister of Justice which had long ago been abolished. Up to the 15th July the Austro-Marxists howled that they would resist this miserable business; but on the 2nd August the National Council decided to ratify the formation of the new ministerial post.

The international working class is informed regarding the shameful campaign of persecution which has been carried on since the 15th July against the Communist Party of Austria. Arrests, prohibitions, confiscations and even the dissolution of district committees are being carried out! Very few days have passed without a confiscation of the "Rote Fahne" (Official organ of the Austrian C. P. Ed.). This systematic destruction of the working class press is now to be embodied in laws. The government has introduced a "Press Law Reform Bill" about which we will speak in detail later. And the democratic leaders? They have openly expressed their fundamental approval of the Bill!

On the 23rd July the social democratic Party conference decided that a full amnesty should be demanded in Parliament for all those arrested in connection with the July events. The bourgeois parties in Parliament refused even to discuss the matter. What does the brave democratic 43% minority do? It postpones the debate until the late Autumn as in the meanwhile the over-worked National Council is packing up for its holidays. And up to the time of the debate over a hundred proletarians will sit in prison and the vindictive class-justice is commencing its "work".

Capitulation, miserable, pitiable capitulation of Austro-Marxism in Parliament! But not only in parliament! In the Vienna Municipal Council Seitz the social democratic mayor has a two-thirds majority, and the social democrats wished to play this trump. On the 17th July it formed a "municipal guard". This municipal guard was, of course, from the first moment of its existence nothing but an auxiliary body for the police of Schober (Schober the Police President of Vienna responsible for the shootings. Ed.); and in all their declarations, from the very beginning, the social democratic leaders assured the public that their guard (it consisted of about 1,500 picked social democratic officials) would "co-operative" with the Schober police and that it was intended to restore "law and order" against undisciplined elements, that it had been formed against the communists (On the 31st July this latter statement was made expressly in the "Arbeiter Zeitung". [The official organ of the Austrian Social Democratic Party in

Vienna. Ed.]). Nevertheless, an attempt was made to make out to the workers that this guard had been formed as a partial arming of the proletariat, as a protection against the Schober police.

But Seipel felt himself strong enough to prevent the social democrats from achieving any sort of prestige success, and he therefore demanded the dissolution of this municipal guard. The Municipal parried the first demand and reduced the guard to 1,000 men; secondly it declared that the guard was only formed for the purpose of doing night service to protect the buildings and the land of the municipality. And finally Seitz declared on the 29th July that if the constitutional court should declare the formation of the municipal guard to be illegal, then the guard would be completely dissolved! Instead of communalising the whole police force in Vienna — they have not only the power but the constitutional right to do this — the "red" leaders of Vienna have even surrendered on the question of the night-watchmen whose pistols are in any case loaded against the communists!

Capitulation in Parliament, capitulation in the Vienna Municipal Council and continued capitulation in the streets: for seven months a peaceful demonstration of social democratic marshals was being prepared for the 7th August in Graz, and in connection with this a joint demonstration with the "Reichsbanner". 20,000 members of the social democratic defence force had made all preparations. Fares had been paid etc. Then a fascist leader in Styria uttered a threat to disturb the demonstration. The provincial government (there are social democrats in the government!) therefore prohibited the demonstration and the Social Democratic Party called it off! The streets belong to the fascists!

These are a few characteristics of the present situation in Austria after the July fighting; one or two snapshots of the capitulation of Austro-Marxism.

All this has caused severe troubles within the Social Democratic Party of Austria. There is almost no conference, no membership meeting but what there are violent scenes. In particular in the meetings of the shamefully misused Republican Defence Force the speakers can hardly obtain a hearing. Perhaps the organisational machinery will succeed in holding the Party together; but a continuation of the crisis is inevitable and the joints of the once so proud, so self-confident Party have been severely strained. The social democratic workers are shaking the prison walls of the reformist party.

The Communist Party of Austria is carrying on its struggle despite all the persecution and the hatred which has been let loose against it. It will continue its struggle with unshaken courage and the greatest possible activity. Apart from the agitation for its normal political aims, it has taken as the central point of its activity in the immediate future the campaign for the release of the more than 100 arrested workers and a recruiting campaign for the Party and the Party press. Excellent results have already been obtained: the circulation of the "Rote Fahne" is growing steadily and the Party is winning new members everywhere by its active agitational work. The Party has the sympathy of the workers to an extent unknown since the days of the revolution. The working masses are now beginning to understand the past and present policy of the Communist Party, they have gained confidence in the Party. It will depend on the organisational strength of the Party, on the permanency of its work in the factories and in the mass organisations to what extent the Party can organise the sympathy which is being shown towards it and create a communist mass party in Austria.

Austro-Marxism is as yet only ideologically defeated, it is not yet organisationally defeated. The organising power of Austrian reformism, even after the July events, will remain both relatively and absolutely extremely strong; that is the situation in Austria which has its roots in the structure and in the past of the Austrian working class movement. But the Austrian proletariat has had a tremendous and bloody experience, and this has laid the basis of revolutionary clarity. The capitulation of Austro-Marxism, its impossible treachery has introduced a new period for the Austrian working class movement, a period in which the relation of forces inside the working class will change, unceasingly to the advantage of the left!

## THE PARIS CONGRESS OF THE AMSTERDAM INTERNATIONAL

### The Chaos in the I. F. T. U.

Purcell Comes into the Open.

By August Enderle.

Paris, 2nd August 1927.

It has for a long time been a well-known fact that the International Federation of Trade Unions is no real international and that it has never had a united and determined leadership. But the picture shown by the congress of the I. F. T. U. on the first day and still more on the second day, of confusion, disruption and mutual intriguing in the inner leadership of the I. F. T. U. beggars description. The first two days of the Congress have already proved one thing beyond dispute, and that is that this international is absolutely incapable of leading any real action on behalf of the proletariat. It would fall to pieces at the first step.

Even the way in which the Presidium of the Congress sit together above the Congress illustrates excellently the "unity" of this "international". In the middle is Purcell, showing stoical calm, right next to him is the second British member of the executive committee, J. W. Brown. Then comes a considerable space and further to the left Oudegeest and Sassenbach and then, on his own, looking the personification of misfortune sits Leipart. To the right is also a wide space and then comes the fat Jouhau with his ears lying on the rolls of fat around his neck, together with Mertens. All the national groups keep to themselves and are almost constantly engaged in eager conversation.

Only this form of "unity" made it possible for the chairman to open the Congress with a speech which surprised not only the Congress and the general public, but also the majority of the Executive itself, because the speech said something quite different from the policy of the I. F. T. U., or better than the policy of the majority of the Executive Committee of the I. F. T. U. And only in this International could the incredible happen, that immediately after the speech of the chairman, the vice-chairman got up and declared before the whole world that he disavowed the chairman and that the latter must be held personally responsible for his speech as he, the vice-chairman, and a number of other members of the Executive had directly opposite opinions, or as another member of the executive expressed it later in the day, the speech of the chairman was an insult to the majority upon the Executive.

If those not in the know were of the opinion on the first day that the speech of Purcell was the expression of a personal anger and annoyance and represented a personal deviation from the general line, the second day showed them clearly enough that the speech was a deliberate attempt to bring the matters in question out into the open before the general public. For years the chairman and with him the second British member of the Executive, the secretary of the I. F. T. U. Brown, have been treated like puppets by a clique represented by Oudegeest, Jouhau and Sassenbach; they have been shamelessly deceived and kept in the dark. This clique had so estimated the patience and the "simplicity" of the British representatives and of the "pro forma" chairman, that they even had the insolence and hypocrisy to express through the mouths of Jouhau and Mertens, moral indignation at the "Russian" methods of the British representatives before the whole congress. This caused the bomb to burst. With almost incredible calm J. W. Brown, who had been greatly slandered, exposed the bottomless meanness of Oudegeest and his friends. He showed by means of documents and letters not merely that the practical leadership of the I. F. T. U. under Oudegeest was completely at the orders of the International Labour Office in Geneva and thus under the thumb of the League of Nations and the international imperialists, but also the treachery of Oudegeest and his friends in sabotaging the unity of the proletariat in order to carry on a campaign against the Soviet Union. With documentary evidence, Brown proved that Oudegeest, Jouhau and their friends have sabotaged international trade union unity at the behest and in agreement with world capitalism, and that they have used all possible means to pre-

vent a union of the western proletariat with the workers of the Soviet Union and of China. "The Russians are honest in their desire for unity, it is time that we should go over to the attack" wrote Oudegeest to his honourable friend Jouhau. The world has now seen their attack clearly enough, it was a flood of lies and meanness in co-operation with Chamberlain. Now the workers of the world know it, can see it in black and white. That is the only good thing about this stirring up of the stinking Amsterdam morass.

What are the deeper causes and the consequences of this antagonism which has shown itself here between the British and the Amsterdam trade union leaders. Is the policy of these two sections towards capitalism so basically different? Are the present leaders of the British trade unions, the Purcells, the Hicks and the Browns revolutionaries while Oudegeest and his colleagues are reformists? No, Oudegeest and his colleagues are no longer "reformists", they are the conscious agents of capitalism and they act accordingly, just the same as Thomas and Hodges in Great Britain. Purcell, Hicks and Brown are real reformists who have still some connection with the class struggle. They are, and that is probably the decisive factor, under the immediate pressure of the British proletariat which is suffering under a severe offensive of capitalism. The British leaders, Purcell and his colleagues, are therefore not able to take part in this conscious treachery at the behest of capitalism; they need immediate assistance in their struggle against British capitalism and that explains their conditional urge towards unity with the Russian unions and above all with the workers of the Far East. That is the reason for their revolt against the imperialist methods of the Amsterdam bureau.

How will the serious crisis in the I. F. T. U. end? Will Purcell and Brown disappear from the leadership of the I. F. T. U. at the will of the German, French, Belgian and Dutch reactionaries? Everything depends upon the energy and determination of the British delegation. If the British delegation stands firmly behind Purcell then he will probably remain in the leadership, for otherwise his dismissal would cause the acute danger of a break between the British unions and the I. F. T. U. Should, however, the British delegation split on the subject, then probably another Britisher will become chairman. In any case, the matter will be pushed into the commissions.

### How the Congress of the I. F. T. U. "Works".

By August Enderle (Paris).

The Amsterdam International (I. F. T. U.) has never experienced any really serious response amongst the masses of the workers. Although it claims to be the strongest proletarian organisation in the world and embraces the organised workers of the "civilised", old, highly capitalist countries, there are undoubtedly millions of members of the trades unions affiliated to the I. F. T. U. who hardly know of its existence and still less of the fact that its international congress is now taking place in Paris. If the masses of the membership could see with their own eyes and hear with their own ears the activity of this "their" congress, their interest in the I. F. T. U. would sink far below even the low level at which it is at present.

What ambitious "Programme of Work" has the Congress of the I. F. T. U. which consists of 170 delegates, 86 of whom possess decisive votes, to show the world? There are 13 points on the agenda including, inter alia. "The international struggle for the 8 hour day", "International Assistance in wage struggles", "The world economic situation", "Trade Union freedom", and the "Struggle against war and militarism". True, these are subjects and questions which are of vital interest to the workers of the whole world and at any real trades union congress they would be the subject of serious and hot debate.

What is said at the Congress of the I. F. T. U. to all these questions? Nothing at all, literally nothing at all! Apart from Purcell, who at least mentioned the problems in his opening speech and dealt with them to a certain extent, no single speaker even touched upon any of these highly important questions in the first two days' debate. Twaddle, absolute

twaddle is being talked at great length about whether Purcell spoke privately or officially. Whether this person or that knew or didn't know why a delegation went to Mexico last year, or why a delegation didn't go. About the circumstances in which the Mexican unions refused to affiliate to the I. F. T. U. because they disagreed with the latter body, as to who was to pay the fare of the secretary to Amsterdam; about whether the General Council of the British T. U. C. kept the bureau of the I. F. T. U. well informed or not; whether there is a good or a bad English stenographer in Amsterdam and similar "important" questions of international significance.

A further considerable portion of the time of the Congress is being wasted by hours of mutual recriminations about whether this or that member of the executive intrigued against the other one. **The latter question, it is true, demands that the I. F. T. U. deal with it, and it would be valuable for the rest of the world to learn what a stinking morass there is in Amsterdam.** But the tremendous tasks in connection with the offensive of capitalism, the acute danger of war, the tremendous happenings in China, the world-wide unemployment etc. which this trade union international should deal with in the interests of the workers, are not even mentioned.

After two days which supplied nothing for the workers but a miserable exhibition of dirty linen washing, two days of utter confusion and lack of organisation, the great coup came. The debate was broken off, all speeches were abandoned and everything was pushed into the darkness of the commissions. The majority of the delegates will be sent off on a joy-ride to Versailles. Three days later they will be able to hear, or not hear, as the case may be, what the commissions have managed to work out behind the scenes.

Printed speeches have been supplied for all points on the agenda; but hardly any of the delegates trouble to read them, and even the highest trade union officials not to speak of the masses of the membership, know nothing about them.

Without a doubt, the close of the session will see a mass of resolutions and decisions adopted upon all questions, and the meaning of the resolutions and decisions will be unknown to most of the delegates themselves. Upon closer observation **not one of these resolutions has one single new idea.** It is the old rubbish which Amsterdam has been peddling for years. The wire-pullers do not even consider it necessary to warm it up afresh. To sum up, as far as the "struggle" of the I. F. T. U. for the interests of the workers, or better, as far as the systematic treachery towards the interests of the workers is concerned, everything will remain unaltered. The League of Nations, Imperialism and Capitalism can sleep peacefully o' nights — Amsterdam will remain its most reliable supporter. This Congress has also shown the bourgeoisie that it is impossible for anything resembling proletarian rebel spirit, or class-struggle to penetrate into the I. F. T. U.; that this "International" is worlds apart from the motive force which moves the proletariat. This international will remain something which is regarded by the broad masses of the proletariat with the utmost indifference, something which acts like a weight around its neck, but can ever be its leader in the fight against world capitalism.

## The French Socialist Press on the Congress of the I. F. T. U.

By B. J. (Paris).

As in Paris there appears not only the insignificant organ of the French Socialist Party, "Populaire" (It has recently commenced to appear again), but also the daily newspaper of the French reformist trade union federation (C. G. T.) "Le Peuple", one would assume that the I. F. T. U. had the possibility of promptly publishing information concerning the course of the Congress. Nothing would be easier for the daily paper of a trade union movement affiliated to the I. F. T. U. to bring detailed reports upon the Congress of the I. F. T. U. taking place in the very town where the seat of the trade union movement is situated, if only M. Jouhaux would see to the matter.

This would without a doubt be done if everything which was said at the Congress was in the spirit of Jouhaux & Co.; if everything which was said at the Congress could be passed on without reservation to the members of the trade unions

affiliated to the I. F. T. U. (The latter, by the way, have no right to enter the congress building) and if it were not for the fact that some of the speeches would offend the friends of Jouhaux in the French government, the same government which has placed the very imposing but very ill-fitted Grand Palais at the disposal of the Congress.

The very first speech, the opening speech of Purcell, was very unpleasant for the right-wingers in the I. F. T. U. And as Jouhaux himself protested in the name of the right-wing members of the Amsterdam bureau against this speech, it was only right and proper that the "People" should attack this speech in its own way. "Le Peuple" devoted approximately a page (French style) to the first day of the congress, but anyone searching for even one single line from the speech of Purcell will be disappointed. In the report there is a sub-title "The Speech of Purcell", but the column and a quarter which follow deal exclusively with how Purcell ever came to be chairman of the I. F. T. U. The reason is said to be that at the time all the "reasonable" trade unionists like J. H. Thomas had entered the MacDonald government. The journalists of "le Peuple" then attempt a miserable argument over Marxism and a polemic with Purcell without mentioning in any form whatever anything that Purcell said.

The answer of Jouhaux to Purcell's speech is not merely printed in full, but copiously supplied with editorial comments. The fact that this form of reporting aroused the displeasure of Hicks, who described it as a "taking over of the methods of the capitalist press", has caused great annoyance to the editorial staff of "le Peuple". Such displeasure was absolutely unjustified; had not Purcell himself admitted that he had only been speaking personally? Further, neither Hicks nor Purcell had the right to criticise an organ of the French trade union movement which was fighting both nationally and internationally against the work of the Moscow agents, whilst Hicks and Purcell were themselves responsible for the British monthly "Trade Union Unity".

But Hicks did not content himself with his declaration mentioned above. He has asked the editorial staff of "le Peuple", which, by the way, is always very loud in its defence of the right of the free expression of opinion, if he may not answer in the columns of "le Peuple" itself the attacks which "le Peuple" has made upon him. That is very uncomfortable, "Hicks may answer in our columns if he wants to" declares "le Peuple", but adds that it reserves itself the right to a rejoinder in the same manner in which it has reported the Congress.

It was really fortunate for "le Peuple" that there are also speakers who talk in the strain of Jouhaux and his friends. But what is the opening speech of Purcell or the temperamental attack of the Swede Lindley compared with the sober exposures made by Brown, compared with the letters which expose the game of the friends of "le Peuple", the letters which are not to be argued out of existence? But "le Peuple" has had long practice in ignoring unpleasant facts. It writes a few ambiguous lines about the speech of Brown without dealing with the letters and without explaining their significance. It writes briefly: "The affair with the letters was not very well understood". (Thus, it is clear that anything which the representatives of "le Peuple" cannot understand perfectly must be absolute nonsense.) The "People" supplies this affair which rightly caused tremendous excitement at the congress with the title "A Game with Scraps of Papers".

What the letters contained, who had written them, to whom they had been addressed, all these things are wrapped in darkness for the unfortunate readers of "le Peuple". As compensation, however, they have a choice selection of excuses to choose from, one contradicting the other: the letters could never possibly have been written; if they were really written, then they were written differently etc., and finally, cries "le Peuple" in honest indignation, "Why was not the letter which is dated from the end of the year 1924, published at the time of the Vienna Congress in 1925? That settles the matter, all objections are now impossible. True, the Congress took place in Vienna in 1924 and not 1925; true, at this congress the first beginnings were made towards opening up negotiations with the Russian unions, but no matter, the daily organ of the French reformist trade union movement demands an answer to its question, and when it gets one it can attempt to fool its readers anew.

The reports of the speeches of all other delegates are all in the same "objective" fashion. What is sauce for the "Peuple" gander is also sauce for the "Populaire" goose. The "Populaire" also succeeds in surmounting the difficulties of reporting the Congress. True, it reports the speeches of its opponents a little more in detail, but to make up for this generosity, it does not even mention the little matter of the letters of Oudegeest and Thomas!

This method of reporting in the press of the French reformist unions and the French social democracy is an expression of the fact that the French reformists feel themselves absolutely at one with their government, that they are prepared to carry out the tasks set them by the bourgeoisie with exactly the same methods as those of the capitalist press.

## CHINA

### **Appeal of the International Red Aid against the White Terror in China.**

To the Toilers of all Countries! To all Freedom-loving People of the World!

A terrible wave of terror has swept over the Chinese people.

In China there is being repeated before our eyes what we have already often witnessed in the history of the emancipatory struggle of the peoples: the bourgeoisie, which made use of the force and the revolutionary surge of the working masses in the fight against the feudal powers, betrays the workers and peasants and turns the weapons against them the first moment when they proclaim their will to continue to fight for their own emancipation.

Thus in the course of the heroic struggle for emancipation of the Chinese people against imperialist suppression and corrupt feudalism, counter-revolutionary forces are developing in the lap of the revolution, which forces today — exactly as the feudal reaction — are attempting by means of unheard-of terror to stifle every movement of the workers in a sea of blood.

In those provinces of China in which the revolutionary wave has swept along with it the broadest mass of the people, the renegade militarist rulers, the tools of capital and of the big landowners, have set up their reign of terror which meets with the full approval and active support of the imperialist Powers.

Chiang Kai Shek and Bai Su Chi are competing with the bandit Chang Tso Lin in their endeavours to exterminate the flower of the Chinese people. Already more than 10,000 workers and revolutionary intellectuals have fallen victims to the united counter-revolution. Hundreds of the best sons of China are being murdered every day. The prisoners are subjected to cruel tortures. The organisations of the workers, the labour unions and the peasants' societies are being persecuted in the most brutal manner.

A storm of indignation and protest must be raised in the whole world against this bloody regime, which far surpasses the terror in the countries of white terror in Europe. All workers, all lovers of freedom in every country must raise their passionate protest against the terror of the Chinese counter-revolution, against the cruel suppression, under the protection of the bayonets of the imperialists troops, of the revolutionary movement.

The workers of Europe and America have repeatedly proclaimed their solidarity with the Chinese fighters for freedom and promised never to leave their brothers in China in the lurch.

Now, when the movement for freedom of the Chinese people is passing through its darkest hours, it is necessary to prove with tenfold energy and self-sacrifice practical solidarity with the working peasants of China.

The workers and freedom-loving intellectuals in all countries and in all cities must initiate a powerful action in order to put an end to the bloodshed in China.

In all countries the protest action must be accompanied by collections in support of the victims of reaction in China.

This is not the first time that the International Red Aid has called attention to the victims of terror in China. It has already

repeatedly called for support for the Chinese people and dispatched considerable relief to the victims of counter-revolution in China. But all that it has been able to do hitherto is but a drop in a sea of blood and tears.

Again and again there comes to us the cry of distress of our tortured brothers in the towns and villages of China.

The International Red Aid expects that its appeal will be heard by all workers, by all progressive minded people, and that it will be answered by a wave of protest and offers of help.

Prompt action is necessary.

Therefore:

**Protest in masses against the cruelties of the reactionary powers in China!**

**Collect for the victims of the terror, for the wives and children of the murdered victims, for the support of those in prison!**

**Support with all your powers this great work of solidarity and humanity!**

The Executive Committee of the International Red Aid.

### **Manifesto of the Chinese Seamen's Union in Connection with the Dissolution of its Branch in Hongkong by the Government there.**

Since Chiang Kai-shek went over to the side of the imperialists, since his public betrayal of the Chinese people, his friends and followers everywhere are using the most brutal terrorist measures to destroy the movement of the Chinese workers and peasants. The branches of our union in Shanghai, Fuchow, Amoy, Swatow, Canton and in many other places have been dissolved. In this way the work which our union has done through many years of patient labour for the seamen has been utterly destroyed. Seamen today are being worse treated by the employers than ever before. They are dismissed without reason and handed over to the police and military authorities on the most trivial excuses. The seamen have never before been in such a state of utter slavery.

The only branch of our union which survived was the branch in Hongkong, although the government there against which we have fought energetically since 1922 is our arch-enemy. The present reactionary government in Canton entered a little while ago into negotiations with the British government in Hongkong with a view to securing the dissolution of our branch there. It was successful and on the 27th May the Hongkong police closed our offices and prohibited the wearing of our union badge. It is reported that the Hongkong and Canton governments are acting in concert to form a new pseudo-union to carry on the struggle against the best interests of the seamen.

Our seamen's union has now existed for six years during which period it has suffered many defeats and won many victories and fought unceasingly against capitalism and imperialism. Four years ago in 1922, our union was able to re-establish itself in Hongkong during the great strike there and the Hongkong government did not dare to suppress it. To-day the government there has suppressed our union after negotiations with the Canton government of Chiang Kai-shek. We have been forced into illegality, but we will fight with all the means in our power to regain our legality. We hope that the workers and above all our fellow seamen all over the world will support us as far as possible in our struggle.

(signed)

Hsu Show-kin,  
Chairman of the Chinese Seamen's Union.

Lin Wei-min,  
Vice-Chairman.

Chan Kuen,  
General Secretary.

June 10th 1927.

## Plenum of the C. C. and C. C. C. of the C. P. S. U.

### The International Situation and the Opposition.

Comrade Krupskaya's speech at the Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. of the C. P. S. U. against the Opposition.

Comrades, I believe that there is very little to be gained by disputing whether a war is probable or inevitable; in either case we are faced with the question of the preparation for war. The Soviet Union is threatened by war, and at this moment the most careful and positive discussion of the questions involved, and the utmost unity both in the Party and among the broad masses, are necessary. After the October revolution, Lenin wrote and spoke a great deal on the paramount importance of organisation in the building up of socialism. He declared that the key to realisation of socialism lies in organisation. He repeated this often, and it is from this standpoint that we must approach the war question.

The better we are organised, the easier it will of course be to repulse the class enemy, and the easier it will be to win the victory. But the debates which we have heard during the last two days, and the character of these debates, go to show that the opposition does not clearly recognise the full extent of the impending danger. To bring forward such accusations as the opposition are now bringing forward, at such a moment as the present, is to hamper organisation.

A few days ago I came across an article by Lenin, which he wrote regarding our Duma fraction in 1913, entitled: "Two Methods of Discussion and of Fighting".

"There are", writes Lenin, "discussions and conflicts of opinion in the press which help the reader to grasp political questions more clearly, to form a more definite idea of their importance, and to come to a more definite decision upon them."

"On the other hand, there are discussions which degenerate into mutual abuse, slanders, and accusations... Without debates, disagreements, and conflicts of opinion, no movement is possible, not even a labour movement. Without a relentless fight against the degeneration of disagreements into quarrels and insults, organisation is impossible. But without organisation the working class is nothing at all."

This was written at a time when the fight was only being carried on from the benches of the Duma. At the present time we are passing through an epoch in which the battle will presently rage all over the world, and at such a moment Lenin's words of 1913 are of far greater significance. But when we examine the accusations made by the opposition, we cannot but find that they consist up to nine-tenths of mere quarrelling.

Let us take the question of building up socialism. We are of course perfectly aware that it is not so easy to build up a new order, that socialism does not spring up in a night, that it does not appear on earth as soon as we pass a resolution on the building up of socialism. The building up of socialism demands an enormous amount of detail work.

But the methods adopted by many comrades of the opposition are the following: They seize upon this or that negative fact — and of course there can be many of these —, generalise this fact in an entirely false manner, combine a number of such generalisations with one another, and at the same time place blinkers over their eyes, so that they do not see those steps towards the establishment of socialism which have been accomplished in our country.

I have had the opportunity of taking part in the work of enlightenment, and have come in contact with a very large number of working women and peasant women, representatives of the national minorities. And I have been able to observe how these people develop within a few months, how their consciousness and their capacity for organisation grows. Let us take, for instance, the election to the Moscow Soviets, which I was able to observe fairly close at hand. If we compare this election with the preceding ones, we observe a great difference.

Comrade Trotzky spoke here of "guide-books". Guide-books are often very useful. During the election campaign this year members of the Moscow Soviet received a brochure in which all the figures were collected and the fundamental questions which had to be discussed were set forth in a clear manner. And now, thanks to this brochure, which one can of course very easily christen a "guide-book" — thanks to this brochure it was possible to observe how the discussions during the elections moved in a definite direction, and how concretely the workers selected the material for every point. I do not doubt that the elections have yielded an enormous amount of material which will help us in the future to organise better and more correctly the economic and also the cultural work.

Often enough we do not observe what is happening around us. This year, for instance, I was able to observe the following: In various towns (in 33 places) workers' universities have sprung up spontaneously. This year a Congress of the Workers' Universities was held, and everyone was astonished at the students from these workers' universities. These are workers from the bench, who have spent many years — none of them fewer than five years — in production. It was interesting to note how the debates were conducted. It could be seen that each one of these workers felt himself to be an owner of production. How detailed, clear, and accurate were the questions dealing with the building up of economic life. Let us take the village. When we compare the village of today with that of yesterday, we see the following: With regard to the question whether the village is richer than before, it may be that it is not much richer. But what do we see? We see in the village a mighty work of organisation. We see a number of organisations: the village Soviet, committees for mutual aid, Young Communist League, Women's section, etc. We see the co-operatives, which are bringing about such great changes in village economy. And when we see how the peasantry are striving to reorganise their lives on new principles, then we remember Lenin's words, that the keystone to the building up of socialism lies in organisation.

I have had much to do with working and peasant women; I receive many letters; and in all this I observe the steady and enormous growth of consciousness.

If we attend a workers' meeting, and hear an average working woman say: "I was a helpless woman, but now I am working on the arbitration committee; I have attended a course of instruction for illiterates, and now I feel capable of defending both myself and my comrades" — is this nothing, comrades? In my opinion these simple words bear witness to that great growth of consciousness, of that new organisation which is coming into being.

Let us now glance at the national minorities. I spoke recently with teachers from the province of Mari. I looked through the literature on the subject, and found: Here we have a people once down-trodden and degenerate, without hopes for the future. And now we see that a few years have sufficed to bring about an immense organisatory and cultural uplift among the population of Mari. When we see this, then we feel that the comrades of the opposition are bandaging their eyes, and see nothing of that intense pulsating life, of that new organisation which is growing up around them. I believe that this is the main error of the opposition.

The opposition has constructed a special artificial world for itself. But this is not the world as it really exists. The opposition does not observe the real world, for the reason that its roots are not down among the masses. The masses do not support the opposition.

Those workers, peasants, working and peasant women, those national minorities, who feel this growth, recognise that they have awakened to conscious, active life under the Soviet power, under the leadership of the Soviet power. They support none other than the Communist Party, than the Soviet power.

Let us now turn to the question of the class struggle in its connection with the approaching danger of war. Here I should like to quote another passage from Lenin:

"The class struggles really teaches us, in actual practice, that every false standpoint held by any party at once places this party in the position which it deserves."

At the present time the war danger is the test of the correctness or incorrectness of the standpoint maintained by this or that group. I believe that the speeches delivered here



today and yesterday suffice to prove that the standpoint represented by the opposition is false and mistaken.

I shall deal briefly with one question only. It has been stated here that the defence of the country consists of judging rightly the direction in which we must go. That is true, but this question must not be subjected to anarchist discussion. On the other hand, the moment at which the question is discussed is of great importance. Our Party is not a debating society. There are moments at which we can no longer discuss, but must act. It need not be said that Comrade Trotsky knows better than anyone else what would have become of the Red Army had the soldiers, at the beginning of an offensive, began to discuss whether it was right to be going in this direction and not in another, and had themselves decided the way to be taken. The greatest possible unity is necessary here.

Now with respect to China. I believe that the fundamental line laid down by Comrade Bukharin in his theses is right. We must adapt ourselves as far as possible to the peculiarities of the situation in China. It was of first importance to arouse the masses, to arouse the millions of the population to a conscious struggle for a new order. That was the main point. It seems to me, however, that some points of the theses require slight amendments. I should say for instance: In the first place we read, in point 24, that the Comintern, whilst impelling the revolution forward, has been at the same time decisively opposed to springing over stages of the revolution which have not yet been surmounted. We are quite aware that such leaps defeat their purpose. I believe, however, in order to avoid attacks on this point, it would be better to add here: At the same time it is of the utmost importance to recognise in good time the moment of transition from one stage another.

Point 23 mentions that criticism has been passed on actions. Criticism is criticism, and is a necessary factor, but at the same time it is necessary to mention the factors relating to foreseeing the moment of transition from one stage to another.

And now another question. In point 27 we read: "The Communist Party of China is at the present time a Party against which the fire of all the enemies of revolution is directed." That is true. But precisely because it is true, we should not now accept the following passage from point 25:

"On the other hand it is necessary to recognise that the leaders of the C. P. of China, who have systematically rejected the instructions of the Communist International, are in part responsible for the defeat of the working class and the peasantry."

I am of the opinion that this passage should be omitted, and just for the reason that the fire of the enemy is today directed against the C. P. of China.

Finally, it appears to me that in the last point, dealing with the necessity of developing the agrarian movement with all possible means, mention should also be made of the necessity of supporting the peasants' leagues. When we read the report published in the "Communist International" on the peasant movement in Hunan, we see that these so-called "peasants' leagues" are real class organisations, and have developed into such in the course of their struggle against the gentry and kulaks, and that their functions are now practically those of Soviets. And it is a characteristic fact that at first the Kuomintang supported these peasants' leagues, and even sent troops to their aid. Hence it is easily comprehensible that we joined our forces to those of the Kuomintang. Later on, however, the Kuomintang altered its policy towards the peasants' leagues, and commenced to fight against them. I believe it will be found necessary to draw attention, in this last point, to the importance of supporting these peasants' leagues where they still exist, for they may be the germinating cells out of which the Soviets may grow.

That is what I wished to say. In conclusion I should like to say a few words on a personal matter. In 1925 every one of us was conscious of a certain stabilisation, and at that time it seemed as if the danger involved in some occurrences should be emphatically pointed out. For this reason the standpoint of the opposition appeared to me in 1925 to be right. But now, at the moment of struggle, at a time when it is necessary to rally all our forces together, it seems to me that all the members of the opposition should leave the opposition, and gather closely round the Central Committee.

## Declaration of the Delegation of the C. P. of Germany at the Joint Plenum of the C. C. and C. C. C. of the C. P. S. U.

Moscow, 7th August 1927.

The "Pravda" publishes a declaration of the delegation of the Central Committee of the C. P. of Germany to the joint plenary session of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the C. P. of the U. S. S. R. which contains the following:

The German Communist Party has followed with the closest attention the actions of the Opposition inside the C. P. of the U. S. S. R. from its first attacks at the 14th Party congress up to its latest attacks against the C. P. of the U. S. S. R. and the Comintern. The German C. P. was forced to participate actively in the internal Party struggles in the C. P. of the U. S. S. R. because the leaders of the Opposition supported with all the means in their power the ultra-left renegades of German communism.

The German C. P. has discussed the questions at issue in the C. P. of the U. S. S. R. in thousands of nuclei meetings, in hundreds of town conferences and in dozens of district Party conferences. With an overwhelming majority the German C. P. has declared itself unequivocally in all questions in agreement with the policy of the Central Committee of the C. P. of the U. S. S. R. Our 11th Party congress in Essen which adopted a special resolution in this question expressed the unity of the whole Party in the struggle against the Troztkist Opposition in the C. P. of the U. S. S. R.

By treating the decisions of its own Party and of the whole Comintern with scorn, the Opposition is continuing the struggle against Leninism. The attitude of the Opposition at the recent 8th plenary session of the E. C. C. I. showed a whole chain of new attacks and unexampled slanders against the Comintern. Open and in secret, with all means and all ways the Opposition is inspiring, supporting and consolidating the group of counter-revolutionary elements under the lead of Ruth Fischer, Maslov and Urbahns, which has been expelled from our Party.

This group is carrying on a reckless struggle against our Party. Its whole policy is expressed in petty quarrels and partisan actions against the revolutionary mass work of the German C. P. It attempts to disorganise the Red Front Fighters League, the only fighting organisation of the German proletariat. Its Information Bulletin "The Flag of Communism" is nothing but a collection of slanders against the Soviet Union, a collection of mean attacks against the Comintern, a collection of treachery and abuse against all revolutionary movements in other countries, in Great Britain, China, Austria etc. Having lost all influence over the members of the Party and now that it is followed by no communist worker, this group of Ruth Fischer, Urbahns and Maslow has turned itself into a tiny part of the powerful mechanism of the imperialist war preparations against the Soviet Union.

This group continues to exist thanks to two factors, first of all the benevolent support of the bourgeois State, the legal authorities and the police and secondly to the direct and permanent co-operation with the Opposition in the C. P. of the U. S. S. R. which supplies the expelled ultra-left-wingers with various arguments and which directs the tactics of this group and its agitation against our Party. Thanks to the mandate which she has stolen from the German C. P. Ruth Fischer has been able to appear in a bourgeois parliament and be welcomed by all anti-proletarian parties, from the Social Democrats to the Monarchists, as a mouthpiece of the Opposition in the C. P. of the U. S. S. R. against the policy of the Soviet Union. Apart from the "Socialist Messenger" the organ of Dan and Abramovitch which appears in Berlin, the organ of Maslow brings the speeches, the declarations and the articles of Trotsky, Zinoviev and others.

Thanks solely to the support by the leaders of the Opposition in the C. P. of the U. S. S. R. the group of Ruth Fischer-Maslow has been able to become a special Party in every sense of the word, with its own leadership, its own press organ and its own parliamentary fraction. Of course the Maslow group is a Party without members, without local organisations, without influence and without hope for the future. It is rotten to the core just like the K. A. P. D. (Communist Workers Party of Germany). This fact however, does not in the least diminish

the responsibility of the Opposition for the social treachery of this group which is defended by the Opposition. The Opposition is responsible for the bourgeois, disruptive work of the group Urbahns in the ranks of the German proletariat.

The alliance of Trotzky and Zinoviev with the renegades Maslow and Ruth Fischer has an especially deep and damaging significance for German communism in this moment when the Soviet Union is faced with the danger of war and intervention. The increasing activity of the ultra-left group in Germany can only be understood in the light of the special role played by German imperialism in the preparations for the next war. The German bourgeoisie, led by the bourgeois bloc, is taking up an increasingly hostile attitude to the Soviet Union and going over to the side of the British conservatives. The war spirit is finding ever more favourable ground in the leading circles of Germany in the last few months. The German communists do not doubt that German imperialism is already prepared in principle to participate in an intervention against the Soviet Union, no matter what form the latter may take. Thus Germany is drawn into participation in international diplomacy.

The German bourgeoisie is doing everything possible to diminish the resistance of the German working class against the growing danger of war and intervention, to destroy the tremendous sympathy which the Soviet Union enjoys in Germany and to destroy the Communist Party and make it illegal in Germany.

The leading clique of German social democracy is not the only force in the service of the preparation of a new war and in the service of the growing reaction, but this work of the German bourgeoisie is also supported by the anti-communist anti-soviet campaign of the ultra-lefts. The fact that these ultra-lefts are supported by the Opposition is no accident. This support inevitably and with iron logic is the result of the whole policy of the Opposition.

In the coming war against united world imperialism which is undoubtedly technically superior to the Soviet Union, the latter will rely in the last resort upon the unshakeable confidence of the working masses of all countries in the revolutionary, proletarian, international and socialist character of the Soviet Union, the only workers and peasants State in the world. The opposition denies the revolutionary character of the Soviet power by its accusation concerning the transition to a "Thermidor", i. e. to the reaction. The Opposition denies the proletarian character of the Soviet Union by accusing it of a "degeneration in the interests of the Kulaks", of "anti-labour" policy. The Opposition denies the international character of the Soviet power by accusing the soviet regime of "national conservative limitation". The Opposition denies the socialist character of the Soviet power by its struggle against the Leninist teaching concerning the building up of socialism in one country alone, in which the working-class has conquered power.

The bloc with the ultra-left agents of the western European bourgeoisie is the result of the anti-Leninist views in the chief questions. The whole activity of the leaders of the Opposition, the all-round political and organisational support afforded to the expelled renegades in Germany aims not only at disrupting the Hinterland of the Soviet Union, but also at weakening the world proletariat. The policy of the Opposition does not merely work to undermine the preparedness for defence of the Soviet Union, but it also means the continuation of the systematic sabotage of the greatest task which Lenin set for the western European communists in case of war, namely, the conversion of the imperialist war into a civil war and the setting up of the proletarian dictatorship.

In this direction the policy of the Opposition and that of the ultra-lefts is at one with that of international menshevism and of the Second International. Objectively the Opposition is playing more and more the role of an arsenal which is arming our enemies, and organising a new centre of imperialism with new munitions against the Soviet Union.

At the recent plenary session of the E. C. C. I. our Party pointed out the impossibility of the situation. The German communists expect from the present joint session of the C. C. and the C. C. C. that it take decisive measures to put an end to these anti-proletarian anti-communist tendencies of the leaders of the Opposition. The communist workers of Germany who have gone through long years of revolutionary struggles, and have suffered heavy blows in the civil war and under the treachery of the socialists have sufficient experience to destroy

the little group of petty-bourgeois renegades and to reject their deceitful "left-wing" phrases with contempt.

Our Party is faced with a series of difficult tests and great struggles. It is working strenuously to prepare for the most serious struggle in its history, the struggle for the defence of the Fatherland of all toilers against world imperialism. In this moment the German C. P. has supreme confidence in its leading brother Party, the C. P. of the U. S. S. R. and its bolshevist Central Committee.

Down with the enemies of Leninism!

Long live the victorious defence of the Soviet Union!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the most international, most revolutionary proletarian Party of the world!

On behalf of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party:

The delegation of the German C. P. at the joint plenary session of the Central Committee and of the Central Control Commission of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Hermann Remmele, Hugo Eberlein, Heinz Neumann.

## Vain Hopes.

Leading Article of the "Pravda". 3rd August 1927.

In order to estimate the objective political significance of those methods of struggle against the Party which our opposition has commenced to apply this year, it is useful to read the leading article form Nr. 13 of the "Socialist Messenger" which bears the following title: "Politics go into the Street". This article contains the following:

"In the long series of political events recently, the greatest and most important is one which was very undramatic and which has apparently had no consequences. We refer to the demonstration of the oppositional communists who accompanied Smilga who has been sent into exile, to the railway station."

The nomination of Smilga to be the chairman of the Gosplan (State Economic Planning Commission) in Siberia, is described by the Menshevists as "banishment". The "demonstration" they declared to be the "greatest political event". From what standpoint is this the "greatest event".

The Mensheviks write:

"The open activity of the opposition is breaking finally the party monopoly. The country in which two communist fractions are openly, permanently and in an organised fashion, fighting each other, is of course neither a democratic nor a parliamentary country, but it is likewise no longer the regime of a party dictatorship. This is the contradiction, and as such the possible beginning of an interference of the people in the quarrel (!) and in this sense the commencing point of democracy..."

The flood-gates will hardly be opened and public activity will break through and together with the communist fractions against them and at their cost other social movements and in particular the social democracy will grow.

For this reason the Russian social democrats will warmly welcome such a legalisation of the opposition... as an open self-liquidation of the dictatorship and a transition to new political forms."

The enemy is already at the breach which the opposition is trying to break in our Leninist Party. The enemy is urging the opposition on to new steps for the "conquest of legality". The enemy reckons that a legalisation of fractions in the C. P. of the U. S. S. R. would be a natural step to the legalisation of other parties in the country. If the minority fraction of the C. P. of the U. S. S. R. won the right to arrange its own meetings and demonstrations, to print its own articles and platforms, then the logic of things would force the granting of similar rights to other political fractions. That is the calculation of the Mensheviks.

And in this way they hope to make the struggle of the opposition the beginning of the "interference of the people in the struggle". In their mouths this means a mobilisation of all anti-proletarian "democratic" forces against the Soviet Power. In the struggle of the opposition they see the "flood-gates" in the "damm" of the proletarian dictatorship which they wish to destroy.

It must be admitted that recently the opposition has taken once again a not inconsiderable step in the direction of Menshevism, not merely in connection with their methods of struggle, but also ideologically. It has expressed "doubts" in the socialist character of the coming war which the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union will fight under the leadership of our Party against the imperialists, in case the Soviet Union is attacked.

Instead of unconditionally recognising such a war as a socialist and proletarian war (which does not exclude the possibility that such a war embraces the whole people if it defends the interests of all toilers) the opposition has developed the theory that the war will only then have a socialist and proletarian character if and when the opposition is successful (up to the war or during the war) of winning the leadership of the party.

The arrogant and conceited group of former leaders who hope to win back their lost political capital from the difficulties and dangers of the Party; has become bold. It dares to declare itself to be everything in our Party called "socialist" and "proletarian"! Without its "leadership" a war of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union against the imperialist robbers would not be a socialist and proletarian war.

This extremely stupid theory of the "super-man" must be correctly understood by every Party member, including also those who are still behind the oppositional "leaders", whose demands are larger than their political judgments.

The more the opposition moves away from Bolshevism and Leninism, the more intense becomes its struggle against the Party and the greater become the hopes which our enemies place upon the opposition. The more the Party exposes the opposition ideologically, the more the recognition penetrates into the ranks of the oppositionalists themselves of the disruptive course which the leaders of the opposition are steering. The ranks of the opposition are becoming monthly, daily thinner. The best Bolsheviks and working class elements in its ranks which supported it in the beginning, are leaving it.

This dissolution commenced last year. The opposition is losing not merely its simple supporters, but also its most important officials who are known to the whole Party and who in the beginning appeared amongst the leaders of the opposition.

Comrade Badayev, one of the old Leningrad Bolshevik workers, was one of the first to turn his back upon the opposition and to return to the Leninist ranks of the Party. Comrades Nikolayeva and Salutzky, two of the old Bolshevik guard, about which the opposition used to boast and use as "trump" against the Party, have also followed the example of Comrade Badayev.

Comrade N. K. Krupskaya has also turned her back on the opposition and is now actively opposing its disruptive work. In her speech at the plenary session of the Central Committee she declared that the erroneous line of the opposition hinders the organisation of the defence of our country in face of the danger of war. She declared that now "in the moment of the struggle when it is necessary that all forces rally around the Party, all members of the opposition should leave the opposition and rally round the Central Committee."

Comrade Sokolnikov has also broken with the opposition. Sokolnikov did not wish to build up another party within our Party and he refused to support the activity of the opposition which undermines the work of consolidating the defensive capacity of our country.

Finally, there are collective declarations of a number of comrades who signed oppositional documents recently, withdrawing their signatures to these documents. There is reason to believe that the decision of the opposition to continue and intensify its struggle in the present strained international situation, will compel many other comrades of the opposition to follow those who have returned to the ranks of the Party, who honestly admitted their mistakes and have broken with the leaders of the opposition.

It is the duty of the Party to assist these comrades to recognise quickly the errors of the policy of the opposition and assist them to return to their positions in the Party.

It is not given to the Menshevist hopes to be realised. The proletarian dam is firm. The Bolshevik flood-gates are powerful. The oppositional trickle is becoming ever weaker. The Leninist Party is becoming ever stronger!

## The Opposition and the Danger of War.

Article from the "Pravda" of 2nd August 1927.

When it began to speculate on the difficulties of the Party caused by the danger of war, the Opposition entered upon a very slippery path. The ambiguity and the dangerousness of the "attitude" of the Opposition in such a tremendous question as the threatening war of the imperialists against the Soviet Union, must be thought out and realised by all members of our Party.

Why does the international proletariat take up an attitude of voluntary support and defence towards the Soviet Union in the face of the coming war? Why did hundreds of thousands of Red Front Fighters swear "Never to forget" their duty to defend the Soviet Union against the robber imperialists, a few weeks ago?

Because the revolutionary workers of all other countries regard the Soviet Union as their proletarian socialist Fatherland, our Party as the Party of the proletariat, and our government as the government of the proletarian dictatorship.

What are the slogans of the international social democracy in its fight against the Soviet Union, in its support of the imperialists and its alliance with the bourgeoisie for the forthcoming war against the Soviet Union? The slogans are "against the little group of bolshevist scoundrels who exploit the Russian workers", "against the little group of degenerated former revolutionaries".

These are the two most important attitudes in the international working class movement in connection with the coming war — the revolutionary communist attitude and the reformist attitude. The third is the "centrist" attitude which deserves special attention on account of its special dangerousness. This is the so-called Austro-Marxism of the "left-wing" European social democracy.

On the one hand the leader of Austro-Marxism Otto Bauer declares himself in favour of the "defence of the Soviet Union" against the intervention of the imperialists (This is the spirit of his summer articles in the "Arbeiter-Zeitung") and on the other hand the same Otto Bauer propagates the theory of the "warlike nature of bolshevism" and the "peace-loving nature" (!) of the imperialists sitting in the League of Nations and reserves himself a free hand in case of a real outbreak of hostilities to go over to the side of the imperialists by slandering the Soviet Union and accusing it of steps "dangerous to peace" and similar things.

This is the tactic of left-wing social democratic two-tonguedness and now our Opposition in working out its tactic has arrived at the centrist principle of Otto Bauer: the word is one thing, the deed quite another.

The Opposition declares on the one hand that it will defend the Soviet Union "unconditionally", on the other hand it accompanies this oath with such theories and acts that one must seriously doubt the usefulness of such a "defence of the Fatherland" on the part of the Opposition.

In "defending" the Soviet Union in Europe (through the paper of the German Ultra-Lefts) the opposition expressly represents the opinion that our Party is already "degenerated", that it has ceased to be a Party of the proletariat and that it has become a bourgeois party of "Terminator people". Is this a "defence"?

Do not the social democrats of all countries use the same "arguments", and the same slanders in order to mobilise the workers systematically against the Soviet Union? How is it possible not to see that the Soviet Union cannot be defended by people who share the social democratic theory about the "bourgeois character of our Party" (and thus also the Soviet Power, for our Party is leading the Soviets)?

Whilst "defending" the Soviet Union our oppositionalists accuse the Party and the Comintern that their policy has led to the present strained relations between Great Britain and the Soviet Union. The responsibility for the breaking off of relations with Great Britain is placed by the opposition, partly at least, upon the Party and the Comintern. And all this in face of the fact that the bourgeois and social democratic press of the whole world are flooding the working class with declarations that the danger of war is very far away but

at the same time preparing with their cries against "the terror of the Bolshevik regime" future wars against the Soviet Union!"

Only people whose political "naiveté" and "simplicity" is extraordinarily suspicious, can justify this tactic of the opposition as an alleged tactic making for the "defence" (!) of the Soviet Union and agree with it. This is a "defence" of the type of which it has been said "protect me from my friends, I can deal with my enemies alone".

What means for the preparation of war, what means for the defence of the Soviet Union does the opposition consider necessary to propose to us? Comrade **Trotsky** said the following in the Plenary Session of the E. C. C. I.:

"By fighting against Stalin (i. e. against the Party which has entrusted the Central Committee including Stalin with the carrying out of its policy, Editor of the "Pravda") for a correct policy, we are thus preparing the best conditions for the struggle against Chamberlain."

The struggle against the Party is therefore the very peculiar "defence week" of the opposition.

What will the "defence of the fatherland" of the opposition look like when war really begins? It is clear the opposition will continue its fractional struggle against the Party. This is being said by the leaders of the opposition already now and this is only a conclusion which must be drawn from the assumption that the "best" conditions for the defence of the Soviet Union can be created by the struggle against the policy of the Party.

But where does the struggle of the opposition against the Party lead to? The example of Germany shows this very clearly. There the opposition has already formed a basis for its own Party which is carrying on a struggle with the German C. P. which is a section of the Comintern. Does not this example show that the opposition in the Soviet Union also is making for the formation of its own party to exist side by side with the C. P. of the Soviet Union? (Even if this petty bourgeois "party" is just as miserable and small a group as the handful of renegades around Maslow in Germany.)

Can our Party permit the development within its ranks of the fractional work of such "double-tongued" "defenders of the fatherland"? Today the Party needs iron unity and determination in its ranks and firm discipline more than ever before. We must remember the words of **Lenin** about the "strongest, really iron discipline in our Party" without which "the Bolsheviks could not have remained in power two and a half months, not to speak of two and a half years" (**Lenin**: "Left Wing Communism").

The opposition must be called upon to show this Party discipline, to subordinate itself unconditionally to all Party decisions and to cease the fractional struggle. There can be no doubt about the fact that the whole Party united from above and below, from the highest to the lowest organisation, is demanding discipline and unconditional subordination to all the decisions of the party, from the opposition.

Our Party is a **Leninist Bolshevik Party** which is prepared to face all new difficulties and dangers in a Bolshevik fashion and to overcome the panic makers and the disruptive work of the anti-Leninist groups and elements within its ranks.

## Appeal of the Union of Old Bolsheviks against the Opposition.

Moscow, 3rd August 1927.

The bureau of the "Union of Old Bolsheviks" has published an appeal to all Party members containing the following:

Recently such shameful declarations and acts have been made and committed by members of the Party opposition and justified with the statement that many old bolsheviks were amongst the supporters of the opposition (Those comrades who joined the Party in the years 1917 to 1921 are counted by the Opposition to the "old bolsheviks") that the "Union of Old Bolsheviks" cannot but protest energetically against these declarations and acts. Therefore the "Union of Old Bolsheviks" considers it necessary in view of the commencing summer holidays which make it impossible to hold a full membership meeting, to appeal to all its members to oppose the disruptive activity of the Opposition severely. We hope that such action on

the part of the old bolsheviks, the builders of the Party, will show all members of the C. P. of the U. S. S. R. that by speculating upon a little group of old members who now belong to the opposition, the Opposition is working with material which, in this question as in others, is deliberately not in accordance with reality.

The "Union of Old Bolsheviks" considers it to be absolutely normal and natural that in individual questions of a political, economic or organisational nature there should be various points of view and various shades of opinion, as long as the latter are not in contradiction to the fundamental principles of the Party. The bureau of the "Union of Old Bolsheviks" therefore considers it to be absolutely impermissible and unprecedented that members of the Party in general and responsible members of the Party in particular, of the Party which is now at the head of a tremendous country, the first Socialist Soviet Republic in the world upon which the fire of the united reaction is now concentrated, should tread the prestige of our central organs into the dust.

What conclusions must be drawn from the unbridled activity of the Opposition? First of all that all vacillating and unstable members of the Party and all the open and covert enemies of our Party including the thorough counter-revolutionaries, are a support of the Opposition and will stand by it (This is the logic of events, every unprincipled and fundamentally false Opposition leads to this) and that these elements will strive towards the gap in our Party made by the Opposition in order to achieve their ends and destroy the dictatorship of the proletariat. Secondly the whole tone and character of the declarations of the opposition which are used by the dissatisfied people in our ranks, go to show the necessity of replacing the leading comrades of the Party by the members of the opposition, for, if our central organ in the Comintern, the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the Party are conducting a "treacherous policy" and if the Party is "degenerating", then the only conclusion to be drawn is that our leading comrades should make way for the members of the Opposition, despite the fact that the Party has condemned the oppositional members many times for their false, ambiguous and anti-Party policy and despite the fact that our leading organs enjoy the complete confidence of the Party.

Therefore we consider it necessary that the members of the "Union of Old Bolsheviks" should — just as in former years when individual comrades or groups vacillated — energetically reject this attempt of the Opposition and conduct, together with the whole Party, a systematic ideological struggle for the correct and unfalsified Leninist line. Having regard to the dangerous situation in which the Party can be brought by the activity of the insignificant oppositional group which is composed of the most varied and contradictory groupings and which supports itself neither on the Party nor on the masses, but simply upon individual vacillating and unstable elements whose social composition is by no means in accordance with the proletarian character of our Party, we believe that the time has come to call a halt to this activity of the Opposition which is so damaging to the interests of the Party and of the world revolution. For the Opposition systematically opposes the decisions of the Party by its own decisions which are always deliberately ambiguous, demagogic and impracticable and thus bring our Party and the brother Parties into a still more difficult situation in face of the extremely complicated tasks before the Party.

We are of the opinion that the Opposition must be faced ultimately with the question of its complete subordination to the Party. This applies equally to all oppositional groups: to the supporters of comrades **Zinoviev** and **Trotsky**, to the "left-wing" opposition (**Sapronov**, **Smirnov**) as well as to the newly resurrected and no less detrimental buffer group. We are absolutely in favour of the removal of the leaders of the Opposition from the Central Committee of the C. P. of the U. S. S. R. The Party must finally be given the opportunity of turning all its forces and attention to the work of building up our socialist State and to the struggle for the development of the world revolution. The bureau of the "Union of Old Bolsheviks" appeals to all members of the Communist Party to support without reservation the leading central organs of the Party and to oppose the disruptive actions of the Opposition which endanger the unity of the Party by their iron and unshakable proletarian will to unity and to oppose unitedly all disruptors, oppositionalists and fractionalists, irrespective of



their position and their former services to the revolution. The interests of the Party and of the future victory of the social revolution must be placed into the foreground!

## FOR THE UNITY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

### The Congress of the C. G. T. and Trade Union Unity.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

The 19th Congress of the C. G. T. (Confédération Générale du Travail) was held in Paris from 26th to 29th July. This Congress had been awaited impatiently by the working class of France and in particular by the supporters of trade union unity, that is, by the 550,000 members of the C. G. T. U. (Confédération Générale du Travail Unitaire) and by the Left wing of the C. G. T. In fact this Left wing had made great progress in the last three months, and it was expected that at the Congress it would measure its exact forces and its political powers.

The C. G. T. U., which has never ceased to carry on energetic action for unity, had, right up to the meeting of its national committee in April, followed the tactic of a joint congress of the trade unions, which would result in the formation of a united C. G. T. by amalgamating the two Federations under the leadership of both centrals. The C. G. T. of Jouhaux has stuck to the formula of its two past congresses (Paris 1923 and Paris 1925): "The C. G. T. alone represents the movement in France; those who left it in the year 1921 have only to enter the trade unions of the C. G. T. again, without submitting any condition regarding the rights of certain tendencies".

The C. G. T. U. decided in April to make a last concession. It met its rival half way and made the offer that the unitarian trade unions should return en bloc into the reformist trade unions, with the essential guarantees: each tendency to have equal rights to express opinions; no expulsions on account of membership to a group or tendency; trade union democracy; majority rule. The reformist leaders replied that the right of opinion in its ranks had never been called in question, and that the unitarian trade unionists had only to apply to the organisations of the C. G. T. This reply meant that, instead of the re-entry en bloc, it offered individual re-entry, with the possibility of sifting out the active revolutionary fighters and without any guarantee for the sovereignty of trade union meetings. Thus there was no change in the attitude of C. G. T. leaders.

The movement for unity among the members of trade unions, however, continually increased. It was supported by the agitation of the group of Friends of Unity, a group of the Left minority, as well as by their journal "L'Unité" which, since May 1926, has appeared twice a month. On the 1st of May 15,000 copies of this journal were sold at meetings of the C. G. T. On the 8th of May a National Conference of representatives of the "Group of friends" worked out a plan for a campaign. This conference was followed by several district Conferences. Finally, on the 8th of May, a joint Committee of trade unions of both tendencies of the Paris State Railway drafted a resolution which included, with all the necessary practical details, the proposals of the C. G. T. U. for re-entry. On the 30th of May this draft was agreed to by a Congress of 97 reformist railway trade unions; three days later the C. G. T. U. adopted it in its entirety. Dozens of organisations of all categories in turn agreed to it. All the tendencies desiring unity and which up to then had been scattered, crystallized round this resolution.

In face of this imposing attack the C. G. T. was compelled at first to retreat and then to manoeuvre. It came forward as the champion of "complete unity", but upon far wider bases than that of the resolution of the railway workers, and empowered the trade unions and the local branches to organise the re-entry of the unitarians as they wished. At the same time they prepared alterations in their statutes (articles 36b) aiming at increasing the possibilities of expelling disturbers of discipline.

At the 19th Congress of the C. G. T. there took place a hard struggle. The policy of the C. G. T. had aimed at getting represented in all government organs, in the national economic council, in the League of Nations etc. and to rely only on intervention in Parliament and on collaboration with the government and the employers.

In the face of the gathering of 800 to 900 trade union functionaries and in spite of a brutal hostility which caused it to vacillate on the first day, the opposition conducted a brave struggle. There was a big discussion on the annual report which occupied two and a half days of the Congress. The results of the voting are as follows:

On the Annual Report: 1870 trade unions for, 57 against, 26 abstain from voting (in the year 1925, 1628 voted for, 15 against and 16 withheld their votes). On the resolution of the trade union of the Paris railway: 255 for, 31 abstentions and 1700 against. (In the year 1925 only 118 trade unions voted for unity.) This shows a slight but noticeable advance. The most important thing is that a solid nucleus, based on the class struggle was formed, which intervened in the debates earnestly, logically and consistently, while two years ago there was only isolated and weak criticism.

The Congress showed, however, a further swing to the Right on the part of the C. G. T.

The most important questions of the moment were not dealt with at the Congress. The question of defending wages and the fight against the strengthening of French militarism were not mentioned; nor was any reference made to the reprisals against the workers, and the consequences of the financial stabilisation.

But the economic situation is working in favour of the Left wing. The critical situation of industry renders urgent the question of rationalisation. The struggles of the workers are increasing in extent. The C. G. T., in spite of its 600,000 members, is not conducting and will not conduct any fight.

The essential task of the C. G. T. U. is to engage even more than in the past in the immediate daily demands, to set up through its organisations exact programmes, and to win for its slogans and its methods the whole of the workers, including those organised in the C. G. T. This will be the best means of developing the unity movement into a mass action and inducing the more enlightened workers to turn away from the deceptive picture of a new Left bloc led by the socialists which is being dangled before their eyes for the elections in 1928.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### The „Histadruth“ Congress in Palestine.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

According to the report of its Executive Committee, the "General Jewish Labour Organisation" (Histadruth) has about 25,000 members. Such a large number of organised workers would, in view of the smallness of the population of Palestine and the weak development of capitalism in that country itself and in the neighbouring countries, signify an almost invincible power, if this organisation really represented workers employed in big industry and if it defended the class interests of the workers. But as a matter of fact over a third of the members of the Histadruth are workers who have only recently immigrated from various European countries, are entirely without work and are living on the support provided by the Zionist organisation (five shillings per head per week); another third of the members belong to the co-operatives financed by the Zionist organisations, and only a small number of the Histadruth members are actual wage-earners, the greater part in small undertakings or in the Jewish agricultural colonies.

In addition there is the fact that the leaders of the Histadruth are Zionist socialists of various tendencies, who have an eye more to the interests of Zionist policy than the interests of the workers, and, instead of helping the class struggle of the Jewish and Arab workers against imperialism and the employers, have made it their programme "to realise Zionism by means of close co-operation with the leaders of the Zionist organisations."



In accordance with this policy the third Congress of the "Histadruth", which was held from 5th to 22nd of July in Tel-Aviv, was entirely dominated by the question whether Zionism was on the way to being realised and what conclusions the "Histadruth" must draw for its future work. In view of the disaster which Zionism has suffered in the last two years the leaders of Histadruth were obliged to admit that "at present it is bankrupt". The most prominent leader of "Histadruth", (he is at the same time an outstanding Zionist leader) Dr. Arlosoroff, stated that the slogan: "Zionism in our days" is a Utopia which must be fought.

It was in vain that various other leaders endeavoured to hold out big prospects before the Histadruth members. Not one of them was able to propose any concrete measures for a wide-scale continuation of Zionist plans for the liquidation of unemployment and increasing colonisation activity. Thus there remained nothing else to do but to appeal in various tones to the petty-bourgeois romanticism of the Histadruth members, to whom was recommended "blind faith" in the Zionist ideals of the Histadruth leaders and "fidelity to the Zionist flag", in spite of everything — in one word: "Hold out for the fatherland!"

What the Zionist majority of the "Histadruth" Congress was unable to give to the Jewish workers in the way of concrete solutions of their vital questions (which are no longer to be found within the circle of ideas of Zionism), they sought to make up by demagogic attacks on the eight delegates of the Workers' Left. The latter had attempted to draw the attention of the Congress to the real measures which are possible and absolutely necessary for the workers, the adoption of which would necessarily involve the discarding of reactionary Zionist ideology and the transformation of the "Histadruth" into a real workers' organisation.

The essence of the speeches of the "Left Bloc" was that for the poverty-stricken and suffering Jewish masses, the course to be pursued was not that of linking up with imperialism and Zionism, be it in the hope of obtaining a few crumbs from the table of the Zionist bourgeoisie or be it in the hope of "an elementary process" which would cause Jewish big capital to flow to the promised land. The way out is rather to be sought in the community of interests with the Arab masses who are being led by the Arab national movement into the emancipatory struggle against imperialism, which movement is being promoted more and more by the economic development and which is being forced upon the population precisely owing to the policy of the imperialists.

This argumentation, which was backed up by numerous facts and figures, was urged against the Zionist leaders. It was answered by a furious and shallow incitement, which endeavoured to discredit the protagonists of Communist ideology by such expressions as "traitors", "enemies of the people" etc. The proposals, in accordance with which the "Histadruth" will continue to follow in the wake of Zionism, were then adopted by a large majority.

At the same time it must be remarked that the Congress of the "Histadruth" was this time in many respects an improvement on the two former Congresses of this organisation, held in 1920 and 1923. It was to be noted that the mood of many Jewish workers is no longer in harmony with the homilies of the Zionist leaders, and the latter were compelled under the pressure of the members of the "Histadruth", to accept a number of resolutions which have very little in common either with Zionism or the reformist policy pursued hitherto.

Arab workers were admitted for the first time to the Congress, though of course not as members with equal rights but as guests. For the first time decisions were adopted recommending the organising of the Arab workers. A protest against the monstrous sentence of 3 to 11 months hard labour passed by a British judge on participators at a peaceful unemployed demonstration, as well as against the deportations, which are becoming more and more frequent, of politically suspected workers, was adopted unanimously. Although the question of war danger was deleted from the agenda (owing to lack of time), a resolution calling for maintenance of peace was adopted, as well as another demanding release of Sacco and Vanzetti and the abolition of the death penalty, which is enforced in a particularly brutal manner by the mandatory government in Palestine.

With regard to the Soviet Union, a resolution was adopted welcoming the Russian Revolution and the splendid colonisation

work of the Soviet government in settling working Jews on the land. (As an "anti-dote" there followed a sharp protest against the "persecution" of Zionists and Socialists in the Soviet Union, and the assertion that the colonisation work of the Soviet government cannot solve the Jewish question).

It would be a great mistake to overestimate the political resolutions of the Histadruth leaders. But the contrast between these resolutions and the nationalistic talk of the Congress, and its other decisions, the appearance of the "Left Bloc" and the Arab workers — all this is an important symptom of the great change of feeling among the mass of the Histadruth membership, and in so far as this found expression the third Congress of the "Histadruth" represents a positive chapter in the history of the labour movement in Palestine.

## UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS

### The Trial and Sentence of the Georgian Mensheviks.

Moscow, 2nd August 1927.

The Supreme Court of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic has announced its verdict in the process against the Georgian mensheviks which lasted twelve days. The accused were found guilty and the chief accused, Andshaparidse, was sentenced to 8 years imprisonment. Seven of the accused were sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment, and three were acquitted. The sentence of death was passed on the Polish spy Penkov-Poloshny. The court proved the criminal activity of the leaders of the Georgian Menshevik Party, their connection with the Polish General Staff and with white guardist emigrants, their espionage in favour of the Polish and French secret services, their creation of illegal organisations in Kiev, and other counter-revolutionary crimes. All the accused confessed.

The proceedings before the court brought facts to light which prove that the Georgian mensheviks are only too good students of Kautsky. They not only organise insurrections in the interests of oil imperialism against the Soviet power, but they also have formed a political bloc with all the espionage organisations of the capitalist countries against the Soviet Union. The chief accused Andshaparidse confessed quite cynically that he had accepted the assistance of General Zakariadse of the Polish general staff and of other Polish officers in his illegal work against the Soviet Union. This official of the Second International, working in an advanced post, justified his co-operation with the enemies of the working class as follows: "General Zakariadse (The latter comes of Georgian stock. Ed.) assisted me as a Georgian assisting the Georgians. One Georgian who fails to help another Georgian is, in my opinion, a useless fellow".

But not only the Polish general staff officer is a permanent co-operator with the menshevik leader, the latter was assisted over the soviet frontier many times by the permanent employee of the Polish secret service Penkov-Poloshny. He was assisted by the latter in his journey to Kiev and Tiflis.

Andshaparidse was condemned under the indictment of returning illegally to the Soviet Union at the behest of the Georgian emigrants and with the assistance of the Polish spy Penkov, to assist in the formation of an illegal organisation in Kiev to act as a connecting link between the leading counter-revolutionary organisations of Georgian emigrants and the illegal anti-Soviet organisations in Georgia. During the trial Andshaparidse denied that the Georgian mensheviks were working for an insurrection against the Soviet power. The Public Prosecutor, however, showed him a letter of Noah Jordania, the chief leader of the mensheviks, in which the latter writes that the insurrection in August 1924 had proved its usefulness both politically and historically and the thing now necessary was a more careful conspirative work. The same letter also points out that not only Poland, but also France, i. e. the French government, which had recently protested to the Soviet government on account of alleged propaganda activity of the Soviet government, would support the Georgian mensheviks in their struggle against the Soviet power.

A further letter of Jordania expressed itself even more clearly, and declares that in case the relations between Great

Britain and Russia should become so acute as to lead to armed conflict, then "the Georgian mensheviks would wish for a defeat of bolshevist Moscow". From these and other letters of Georgian menshevik leaders it is clear that in their counter-revolutionary activity they are prepared to accept the assistance of all reactionary forces, and even of the Pope and of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The above-mentioned sentences of a proletarian court closed another chapter of the adventurous cooperation between the Second International and the reactionary forces of imperialism.

## THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

### The Stockholm Conference of the International Women's Co-operative Guilds.

By Hertha Sturm.

The International Women's Co-operative Guild will hold its third international conference in August in connection with the Congress of the International Co-operative Alliance. The Guild claims to be the only international organisation which gathers together the broad masses of working women and represents them. A claim of this kind implies serious obligations, especially under a world situation such as exists at present.

What important message has the conference to utter to the millions of working women? The three questions constituting the agenda of the conference are as follows:

1. Lower prices or higher dividends — which do the women prefer?
2. The adulteration of foodstuffs.
3. Privately or socially organised family laundries.

One might almost believe that the Guild functioned in the moon, for the circumstance that it could find no more pressing questions than these, suggests remoteness from the world.

Even such a simple question as attention to the family linen has certainly a political significance, for every step which relieves woman of the irrational, stultifying petty work of the private household inherited from the Middle Ages opens up to women the road to public life. But the Guild puts all these questions in its own fashion. It is most anxious to hide the political core of all questions under a covering of attention upon whether the women wash their linen in rivers or lakes, in the kitchen, the living-room or in a wash-house; whether their washing-day is a weekly one or monthly, etc. But they do not touch upon the question of how this household slavery of the working woman is bound up with capitalist economy and social order. They do not mention that this unpaid and therefore unvalued work of women constitutes a piece of indirect exploitation on the part of employers, inasmuch as the latter are enabled to keep their wage-saves on low rates merely because the worker possesses in his wife a slave without a wage.

The Guild makes a pretence of combatting the adulteration of foodstuffs. It does not, however, go to the root of the evil, for it passes over in silence the facts, that the production of goods and trade therein are carried on under capitalism for profit and must, therefore, of necessity be accompanied by deceiving and swindling of the masses and that the only thing which can insure undiluted foodstuffs is the management and control of production by the workers themselves under a workers government.

The Guild muses upon the best method of calculating the percentage relation between prices and dividends in the business management of the co-operative societies in order to make the women believe that they profit by it. In so doing the Guild shifts the centre of gravity of the question which lies in the fact that the level of prices is not in any great measure influenced by the technical business management of the co-operative societies, but that it is fixed by the capitalistic power of the cartels and trusts.

It is not by mere chance that the Guild is silent on all these matters. To speak about them would mean to put the questions as class-questions, would mean to show to the masses the way to solve the questions through the class struggle.

The leaders of the Guild are neither able nor willing to do this. They are the ally of the bourgeoisie. Under the cloak of political neutrality they support the policy of Capital by keeping the masses from carrying out a proletarian policy.

What are the tasks which the Guild Conference has to solve? It must first of all take up the burning question of the international situation: the immensely intensified offensive of Capital and in particular its specific keynote: the danger of war. These questions are most intimately connected with the vital interests of the workers' wives, who are, therefore, able to understand them.

The working women notice every day from their household accounts how wages are falling and prices rising. They ask the co-operative society for advice and leadership in order to attack the matter of high prices. The class-conscious workers say that with all its trade manipulations the co-operative society is ineffectual so long as it does not take up the fight against the fixing of prices by rings and trusts, against the customs and excise policy of the capitalist governments and so long as it does not mobilise and organise the masses for action. The co-operative society must quit its false neutrality.

If, however, sinking prices are accompanied by reduced wages, as was, for instance, the case during the last great wage struggle in Norway, then it is high time for the co-operative society to leave its professional rigmarole and its insular spirit. The power of the shopping basket, this petty bourgeois symbol and ideal of the Guild for its women members, proves to be a broken reed at the moment the contents of the purse cease to bear proper relation to the dimensions of the shopping basket. Wages and prices are questions of power. Though Honora Enfield, the secretary of the British Women's Guild and one of the leaders of the international Guild, can maintain a hundred times that the women are interested only in the household and that the question of wages is one for men to deal with, the healthy class instinct of every working woman dictates that the co-operative society and the trade unions must stand side by side in the fight for wages and bread and that the co-operative societies must get away from their isolation and their false neutrality.

With this point is closely connected the question of the proletarian solidarity of the co-operative societies in all the important struggles of the working class — national and international. The women's conference of the British Labour Party, held at Huddersfield, proved that working women have grasped the immense significance of the magnificent aid afforded by the Russian red working people during the British general and miners' strikes. They will bring up the question: What attitude is the Guild taking in regard to solidarity with the Soviet Union and what is the co-operative society doing as regards preparation for war against the first Workers State of the world?

The question of war is the fulcrum of the present world situation. This is the rock on which opinion splits. The executive of the Guild has already taken its decision — in words, against war, — in action, for it. This is proved by a memorandum of the Guild addressed to the League of Nations, to whose goodwill the League pretends to look for the maintenance of world peace. The erection of Ministries of Peace in place of War Offices, disarmament in the course of the next ten years, the training of children in thoughts of peace, individual conscientious objection to war service, ay, even a love strike on the part of women against soldiers and sailors. — that is the mixture of illusion and treachery with which the executive of the International Guild and its most important branch, the British Guild, wishes to lull the masses of women and sabotage every effective action in the sense of revolutionary class struggle.

Where was the International Guild when the Baldwin Government provoked the breaking off of relations with the Soviet Union by its criminal attack upon the trade mission of the Soviet Union? Where was it when Voikov was murdered; where was it when British Imperialism bestially murdered thousands of Chinese workers, women and children? The International Guild did not find a single word of protest against predatory Imperialism, not even the slightest gesture of solidarity with the struggling Chinese people, with the threatened workers and peasants of the Soviet Union.

The masses of working women, it is true, are of a different mind. The cunning leaders of the Guild are still strong enough to divert every attempt to open the eyes of the masses and

effectively mobilise them against war. At the International Conference of the Co-operative Women's League of Switzerland, a small group of class-conscious women members from Basle presented a resolution calling for a declaration of complete sympathy by the Swiss Women's Guild together with the International Guild, for the Chinese revolution and a decisive condemnation of the belligerent attitude of Great Britain against the Soviet Union. The bureaucracy put them off with the explanation that the resolution was too long and too political, then flooded the conference with sentimental, non-committal phrases.

But the warning voice of the truly class-conscious proletariat, the revolutionary conscience of the working class, will be heard, too, in Stockholm, in spite of all the tricks and dodges of the allies of Capital. The women representatives of the co-operative societies of the Soviet Union will be present at Stockholm. They will be supported by a number of class-conscious delegates from capitalist countries. They will show how the millions of working women must take their place in the front along with the men of their class, how they must fight against Imperialist war by using their weapons against its originator, World Capital, how they should protect their own vital interests by building with their own bodies a protecting wall around the Soviet Union.

The women members of the co-operative societies of the Soviet Union, who, during their ten years' experience, have learnt what the Workers' State means, what a tremendously important role is played by the co-operative societies in the fight against Capital, for the emancipation of women, in the fight against poverty, ignorance, profiteering and speculation, in short, in the constructive work of Socialism, will awaken understanding and sympathy in the hearts of millions of working women, they will steel the will of these masses, so that, in spite of the treachery of their false leaders, they may use the co-operative societies as their weapon in the ruthless fight against World Capital on every front, and develop the co-operative societies, under the leadership of the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat, the Communist Party, and in conjunction with the trade unions, into a strong bulwark against which the Imperialists will suffer a rude shock when they come to attack the Soviet Union.

## THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

### Resolution of the Plenum of the Y. C. I. on the Young Workers' League of America.

#### Introduction.

The Y. W. L. of America has extended its activities in the last period, despite the extreme difficulties which face it due to the peculiar conditions of American imperialism. In the field of economic struggle the League has developed new activity such as the campaign for a trade union organisation of the young workers (Plumbers helpers, Painters, Textile) participated in mass strikes, such as Passaic, Needle Trades in New York and Miners' Strike, and commenced to organise Youth Conferences. It has developed its educational work and carried on activity during the elections on the basis of its own programme. Further it has commenced propaganda against the war danger and the C. M. T. C. During these activities, the League has made many errors from which it must learn to improve its work still more. Despite a certain broadening of League activities, the composition of the League membership is still largely outside of heavy industry and mainly foreign born elements. Therefore the previous directives of the Y. C. I. still remain in force as the basic task of the League (Resolution of the VI Enlarged Plenum).

#### The Character of the Y. W. L. of A.

The Y. W. L. of A. still remains a small group separated from the masses of young American workers. This gives rise to pessimism in the ranks of the Y. W. L. itself. It therefore is necessary to clearly define the actual condition of the American proletarian youth to-day. We cannot say that the working youth of America is an almost inert mass. The mass of young

workers of the U. S. are politically apathetic. Further, great numbers of them are to a greater or less degree under direct bourgeois influence through bourgeois youth organisations. A small section is organised in the trade unions, a very small group is following the various political working class organisations, and even a much smaller section is organised in the American Y. W. L.

While it is true that the vast mass of the American working class youth are politically dormant, nevertheless, such events as the active participation of the youth in various strikes and the organisation of small youth strikes show them to be eager to defend their interests.

Our general perspective cannot admit of mass revolutionary struggles in the immediate future, but on the other hand, it is necessary to emphasise that relatively small inroads on the traditionally high standard of living of the American workers and also ultimately the war policy of American imperialism can and will set large masses in motion. The task of the Y. W. L. for the immediate future is to adjust its character and methods to this situation. This means above all that it develops broad methods of genuine youth work without mechanically repeating the work of the Party. It is further essential to carefully build a cadre of American young workers, and the educational work of the League, especially district schools, must be based on this principle. In the American class struggle the American working class youth plays the especially important role of a connecting link between the foreign born adult generation and the American workers.

The E. C. of the Y. C. I. is compelled to repeat the warning of its previous decision on the American question regarding the impossibility of the League's development so long as it devotes most of the time to international Party affairs.

The Y. W. L. while utilising to the full the experience of other Sections of the Y. C. I., must not endeavour to transplant mechanically the method of other Leagues into America, but must understand how to apply these experiences to American conditions. In this sense the Y. W. L. can play an important role in the American labour movement.

#### The Forms of Mass Work.

The most important field of League work is in the industries and the trade unions in which the chief task is the special campaign for the organisation of the unorganised young workers. This must be carried out in conjunction with the general programme of the T. U. E. L. Therefore the League must have special representatives in the leadership of the T. U. E. L. who are industrial workers with a knowledge of the conditions of the youth of the various important industries. The League should set up a special youth department in the National Committee of the T. U. E. L.

In addition to specific demands for the industries, the League must propagate a clear-cut general programme on behalf of the young workers in accordance with the resolution on the American question of the VI Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. and the resolution of the last Plenum on the question of rationalisation. The question of child labour, school age, etc., now play a particularly important role in the U. S. A. The Y. W. L. must present a definite answer to middle class reformist propaganda. The League must develop its practical economic activities as commenced in the case of the plumbers helpers, youth strikes and the organisation of youth conferences. The League has not yet mastered the art of immediately reacting to all events in this field and its hesitancy in the miners' strike as well as its failure to immediately enter the struggle as an organisation with a definite youth programme is regrettable. The League must always come forward with a clear programme of special and practical youth demands. The E. C. of the Y. C. I. is of the opinion that special forms of trade union youth work are especially necessary in the U. S. A. The League must organise young workers' clubs, the exact character of which must be based on the concrete situation, youth conferences, committees of action, etc., wherever this is possible. In this work it is necessary that the American League possesses the greatest elasticity in all forms of trade union youth work as for instance the organisation of youth committees on the basis of youth conferences of more or less lengthy duration. In those instances where the T. U. E. L. organises independent unions, the Y. W. L. must actively participate in organising the young workers in them. The League must

carry out a strong campaign for youth representation on all trade union committees. The drive of the bureaucracy is a move in conjunction with the offensive of the employers against the T. U. organisation of the youth. It is therefore necessary to increase the activity in the Left wing T. U. movement. Efforts should be made to establish youth work in the unions also by means of youth lectures, sports, youth sections in Union journals, etc., which must not lead to any neglect of the economic struggle. The E. C. categorically rejects the proposal to organise youth unions. The organisation of the youth into separate trade unions will only split the youth from the adults and leave them helpless at the mercy of the employers.

The workers' sport movement offers a further valuable field of mass work, particularly in the trade unions.

### The Struggle Against War and American Imperialism.

This question, in view of the colossal world role of the United States imperialism is a decisive one for our League. It is necessary that the League directs its struggle against American imperialism by a correct exposure of the liberal illusions about the "peaceful" role of American imperialism in world politics. "The attitude of America in the question of China, the speeches of its statesmen, and its loans to Poland and Finland show that America is not satisfied with the passive role, and that despite its disagreement at the present time with Great Britain, it undertakes in an increasing degree to defend the rear in the war preparations against the U.S.S.R. in order undoubtedly at the decisive moment to support Great Britain's war policy in an active manner, at the same time following its own endeavours to gain world hegemony." The struggle against the general war danger, and particularly against the offensive on the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese national revolution is the League's main political task in the next period, and the E. C. of the Y.C.I. calls the attention of the League to the resolution of the Comintern on the American question in this connection. Further the League must devote special attention to support the struggle of the peoples of Latin America against American imperialism. The anti-militarist work of the League must receive first attention in the present period. This work has been neglected, particularly on the occasion of the departure of American troops for China, but a continuance of this neglect cannot be permitted. In this anti-militarist work the League has unfortunately displayed a directly pacifist tendency which must be checked at all costs. The question of pacifism and the attitude of our League is particularly important, since pacifism is wide-spread in the American labour movement, and the Y.P.S.L. represents a purely pacifist organisation. Even the Y.W.L. of A. has expressed this tendency in a series of measures, such as the League election programme ("reduction of military expenditure"), the slogans for the C.M.T.C. campaign ("the appeal to the employees for 250 corporations") the mistakes made in the united front with petty-bourgeois pacifist organisations as pointed out in the previous Plenum Resolution and the proposal to restrict the anti-militarist work of the League. It is necessary on the one hand that the League quickly correct these mistakes and on the other that it devotes the greatest attention to the clarification of the question of the Leninist attitude to war, armaments, the workers' militia, etc., in its mass agitation and especially in the League educational work. The E. C. especially calls the attention of the Y.W.L. of A. to the resolution of the Plenum of the E. C. of the Y.C.I. for its instructions on these questions. Above all the League must commence practical work in the armed forces.

### The United Front.

Due to the objective difficulties of the League the application of the united front tactic is difficult. The League has committed a number of errors in this connection which are still not completely overcome.

The chief need of the League is a clear understanding of the necessity of complete independence and the right of full unrestricted criticism of all organisations with which we make the united front. No united front can be entertained with the non-Communist organisations without these rights and the League cannot restrict its criticism in the interests of the united front with other organisations, but must at all times clearly preserve its distinct identity. At the same time it must be emphasised that only through the united front can the Y.W.L. mobilise large masses of young workers. The Y.W.L. should

endeavour to establish the united front as a general rule with working class organisations, trade unions, trade union committees, defence committees, trade union Left wing committees, conference committees, etc. The united front with petty-bourgeois organisations must be an exception and at all times is only permissible on a local basis on concrete issues where these organisations have a large working class following.

### Pioneer Work.

The Y.C.I. notes with satisfaction the work of the Young Pioneers in the extension of its influence, the increasing of its membership, the setting up of children's corners, the drawing in of children into strike activity, etc.

The task of building the Young Pioneers into a mass Communist children's organisation must be greatly intensified however, and must receive even more help and direction from the Y.W.L. units than in the past.

In the U.S.A. where the masses of working class children are under bourgeois influence and are concentrated in bourgeois organisations, such as Boy Scouts — the task of fighting the bourgeois ideology and developing class consciousness and class independence of the working class children and their organisations is of the utmost importance. The trade unions and other working class organisations must be attracted and utilised in the carrying out of this task. They can help in the formation of working class children's clubs, summer camps, etc., on a local scale, with leading participation of children. The programme of such a movement must be of a working class character and directed against the Boy Scouts and other expressions of bourgeois influence (religion, patriotism, etc.).

In regard to the Pioneer Youth, which has trade union support, it is necessary to work inside this organisation, inside the trade unions for control, for the decentralisation of the organisation, for the leading participation of the children themselves, for a clear working class programme, directed against the Boy Scouts, etc., for the support of the workers' struggles (strikes, etc.) against reformist and reactionary leadership and politics (vague programme, high fees for camps, etc.). We must utilise it as one of the organisations through which working class children should be developed towards a clear working class position.

The main task for a Communist movement in the U.S.A., however, is we repeat, to develop the Young Pioneers (our organisation) and to transform it into a mass organisation.

In the Pioneer Youth of America, we must strive for leadership, build our fractions and recruit for the Communist Children's movement — the building of which into a mass organisation is the main task for the mobilising of the masses of proletarian children against the bourgeoisie.

### The Enrichment of League Life.

The course to brighten the League life is correct because this is an indispensable condition for the development of the League. The League inner-life, however, must not be developed at the cost of participation in the industrial struggles and the general mass work which must be the League's main work. All lighter League features should have a definite connection with political life. For example, the introduction of revolutionary songs and plays, revolutionary mock trials and literature, etc.

### Sports.

The E.C. Y.C.I. notes that a start has been made by the Y.W.L. in the very important task of building a labour sports movement in the U.S. The secretarian mistakes made in the past on this field have to a large extent been overcome and the League must continue this work on a broad basis.

However, since the workers sports movement has mainly attracted up to the present time the foreign born workers sports clubs, one of the most important problems of the movement is to reach and build the American workers' sport clubs (Trade Union Sports Clubs, Neighbourhood Workers' Sports Clubs, etc.).

The Y.W.L. must intensify its efforts to win the moral and material support of the trade unions for the labour sports movement and for the enrolment of the trade union sports clubs and teams in the movement.

We must organise wherever possible worker control factory sports clubs and teams and penetrate the existing factory clubs and teams in order to destroy the bourgeois leadership and influence in this field.



Above all it is necessary that the Y. W. L. build its fractions in the workers' sports organisations. It is necessary that larger numbers of League and Party members be drawn into the sports work so that it does not mainly remain the activity of some comrades from the top.

### Negro Work.

The E. C. Y. C. I. expresses its dissatisfaction with the work conducted among the Negroes and considers the main reason for the weakness of this work the under-estimation of the national-race problem by the League. The correct solution of this problem would make it possible for us to spread our influence over the Negro workers and farmers and their mass organisations and draw them into our ranks.

Therefore, the E. C. Y. C. I. considers it necessary to raise this issue before the League by thorough enlightenment of the practical and principle sides of this question in the League press, to set this question before the coming convention, to provide for a functioning apparatus and practise the calling of Negro young worker and farmer conferences or inter-racial conferences or other forms possible.

### Inner-League Situation.

1. The Enlarged Plenary Executive of the Y. C. I. correctly pointed out that the factional fight in the American League presents the greatest danger to the development of the young Communist movement in the U. S. A. and that the continuation of factionalism would be disastrous to the League. The line and action of the Y. C. I. for the unification of the League was correct and must be continued in the future.

2. Since the outbreak of new factional struggles in the Party and particularly since the death of Comrade Ruthenberg, new factional expressions have appeared in the Y. W. L. The entire evidence shows that these factional activities have no political basis and that there are no real political differences in the League. Mistakes have been made in the anti-militarist work, in the question of the C. M. T. C., and in the League election programme, which are the responsibility of the entire League N. E. C. The reason for the factional struggle in the League is chiefly the factional struggle of the Workers Party, and the factors which brought this about in the Party. The chief reasons of the Party factional struggle were essentially also the reasons in the League.

3. The minority of the League N. E. C., headed by Comrade Zam, has conducted a factional struggle to convert the League into a support for the majority of the Political Committee of the Party, despite the repeated decisions of the E. C. of the Y. C. I., that the League was to be kept out of Party factional struggles. The statement of the minority resolution to the Plenum of the E. C. that: "The basis for such a leadership does exist — in the elements that have shown the best understanding of the tasks of the League and of the correct policies to be pursued, that have maintained in spite of some mistakes, the correct line for the unification of the League and that have manifested the correct attitude in relation to the Party and the Party leadership. These elements are the basis for the development of the future leadership of the League", is out of keeping with the decisions of the Y. C. I.

Further, must be mentioned the factional activities of Comrade Zam, the removal of Comrades Don and motions to remove Williamson and the attempt to remove Schneiderman, the conduct of a campaign in favour of the Polcom majority of the Party for an immediate Party convention and opposition to a meeting of the League N. E. C. to discuss the new situation.

4. The majority of the League N. E. C. represent a group of members of all Party and League groupings (Ruthenberg groups, Foster group and Cannon group) and is mostly the outcome of the line of unification of the League. It must be stated that the majority of the League N. E. C. has not completely possessed the understanding of how to achieve unity and has made a number of errors which have encouraged factional struggle rather than decreased it (for example: the fact that besides the cable of the majority of the N. E. C. comrades, which formally they had the right to send, Kaplan, Don and Toohey signed a special Party opposition cable, the endeavours of Comrade Kaplan to fasten sole responsibility on the minority for some serious League mistakes). Furthermore, there are elements within the majority who carry on a factional war against unity within the Y. W. L. and against the

Party, such as expressed by the joining of Comrades Schachtman and Angelo to the "National Committee of the Opposition bloc". The E. C. of the Y. C. I. condemns strongly such action which threatens the unity of the Party and the Y. W. L.

The E. C. of the Y. C. I. warns the majority of the N. E. C. against a repetition of these errors.

The Y. C. I. requests of the majority that it shall combat all factional activities and expressions within the majority (particularly such as Schachtman).

The Y. W. L. must learn from the decision of the C. I. about the majority of the Polcom of the Party which states that the majority of the Polcom of the W. P. "do not sufficiently know how to bring about an amalgamation with the forces which are today in opposition". The unification can only succeed in so far as it attracts all elements to joint participation in the leadership of all League work. The unification cannot be achieved by one group alone, but must be the joint work of both groups.

It is necessary that the minority and majority make all endeavours to unite the League leadership on a broad inclusive, collective basis. The E. C. of the Y. C. I. emphasise that there can be no unity without the abolition of all groups.

5. The first task of the entire League leadership is to unite the whole League in support of the resolution of the Comintern on the Party question, and the complete unification of the Party. The League or any section of it must not be the tail-end of any Party group. For this reason the E. C. of the Y. C. I. expects full support of the resolution by both League groups and regards it as the final basis for the complete liquidation of factions in the League.

It is the more easily possible in the League as some progress has already been made in this direction. The League N. E. C. must work in this spirit in preparation for the League Convention and make every endeavour to present joint proposals on all points at the League Convention.

In accordance with this the Presidium of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. decides on the following organisational steps.

1. The League Convention will take place one month after the Party Convention.

2. The resolution of the Y. C. I. shall be the basis for the Convention decisions.

3. The election of delegates to the convention shall be on the proportional representation system under control of the Y. C. I.

At the Convention the C. C. of the League shall be enlarged to 30 comrades by the addition of new young American proletarian elements, full representation shall be secured the minority according to convention strength.

## BOOK REVIEWS

### The Complete Edition of Marx-Engels

By D. Ryazanov (Moscow).

The first half volume of vol. I\*) of the complete edition of the historical and critical works, writings, and letters of Marx and Engels has just been published. The following is an extract from Comrade D. Ryazanov's preface to the complete edition, and gives an idea of its contents and arrangement. Ed.

The first aim of our edition is to furnish that objective foundation required by every student of Marx and Engels, that is, a reliable and synoptical reproduction of the whole legacy of thought bequeathed us by Marx and Engels.

We include in this edition not only the complete works in the narrower sense of the term, but all unpublished manuscripts, all unpublished articles and fragments. The preliminary studies of both authors (compilations of material, drafts, sketches, rough outlines, fragments not included in the works

\*) Karl Marx, Works and Writings up to the beginning of 1844, including letters and documents. Marx-Engels complete edition, I. Section, Vol 1, first half vol. Marx-Engels Archiv Verlagsgesellschaft Ltd. Frankfurt-on-Maine, 1927.



themselves) have also been employed to a wide extent, and included in the edition where this has appeared necessary. Besides the whole of Marx' and Engels' letters, we have also included all letters received by them, where these contain anything of interest with regard to throwing light upon their personalities, and more especially upon their practical political activities. All works and letters are published in the language of the original text.

In the arrangement of the work we have not kept to a hard and fast chronological principle. And it has been found equally inadvisable to order the material according to its logical relations, and to classify it precisely under themes and subjects. A certain combination of these two criteria has been found to serve best the object in view, and in spite of deviations from the strict chronological order, the standpoint of historical development has been carefully observed.

As in the majority of complete editions, we have separated most of the letters from the writings. It has naturally been impossible to give a chronological place to Marx' life work, "Capital", with which he was occupied during the greater part of his creative period. This work, with all the very comprehensive material relating to it, has therefore had to be separated from the rest of the writings.

These reasons have induced us to arrange the whole material in three divisions. Even in the first division, calculated to cover seventeen volumes, and intended to comprise all philosophical, economic, historical, and political works, with the exception of "Capital", an exact chronological order has had to be broken at times in the various volumes. In some cases we have had to classify under one category a number of writings and articles whose identity of subject, or of conditions of publication, connect them closely to one another, and this has meant sacrificing the chronological order. On the whole, the standpoint of historical development is the determinative principle upon which the arrangement of this section has been based.

Although we can only approximately ascertain the time at which Marx and Engels became personally acquainted with each other, there is no doubt whatever that their collaboration was preceded by a period in which each of them worked — completely alone and independent of the other — at the process of metamorphosing the intellectual inheritance of German classic philosophy and literature, and that it was only from a certain stage onwards that their work was carried on in collaboration. We now know that Engels embarked on a literary career earlier than Marx, although it was Marx who, after coming into immediate contact of ideas with Engels in 1844, first formulated the idea of Proletarian Communism: the idea, to use Engels expression, that "the exploited and oppressed class (the proletariat) can no longer emancipate itself from the class exploiting and oppressing it (the bourgeoisie), without emancipating all society for ever from exploitation, oppression, and class struggles"<sup>1)</sup>.

Of that group of Left Hegelians and Feuerbachians, to which Marx and Engels both belonged as early as 1841/42, Engels was the first to enter into an alliance of ideas with Marx, enabling him to co-operate with Marx, on the basis already attained by the latter, in working out the new view of life. With the "German French Yearbooks" there began at the same time Engels' mental influence upon Marx.

In order to facilitate the study of those "shares" contributed by Marx and Engels to their joint works, we devote the first two volumes of our complete edition to the literary achievements of each author separately, up to and including the time of publication of the German French Yearbooks. But in order to be able to close this entire period with these two volumes, we have made an exception and have included a number of documents, as well as the letters from and to Marx, which belong chronologically to this period. These letters, however, are in this case comparatively few.

From the third volume onwards the volumes contain all works of both Marx and Engels during the period dealt with.

The third volume will contain the whole of the works and essays written by Marx and Engels after the German-French Yearbooks until the spring of 1845. These writings are all grouped around the "Holy Family" and the "Situation of the Working Class in England". During this period Marx' and Engels' communism was still based on the philosophy of "real humanism", and here they were both still followers of Feuerbach.

The fourth volume will contain the "German Ideology", written in 1845/46. This is the first joint work of Marx and Engels, in which they, as Marx writes in his preface to "The Criticism of Political Economy", "resolved to collaborate in working out the antagonism of their views to the ideological views held by German philosophy." This work was not printed, and has hitherto been known only in fragments. It is, however, of extreme importance, not only for the history of the mental development of Marx and Engels, but for the history of German ideology in general. It is only with the aid of this work that we can accurately ascertain every step of the way trodden by Marx and Engels in their progress from Hegel, by way of Feuerbach, by way of French socialism, and by way of the conception of the proletarian class struggle unfolding itself before them, to dialectic materialism.

The fifth volume — from the second half of 1846 up to the revolution of 1848 — comprises all those writings of Marx and Engels in which they combat "true socialism" in all its forms, bourgeois democracy, and the petty bourgeois socialism of Proudhon, and in which they lay the foundations of the new international proletarian organisation, and then actually organise it in the form of the "Federation of Communists". This period ends with the "Communist Manifesto".

The essays and pamphlets written during the revolution in 1848 and 1849, and during the years of its liquidation until shortly before the disbanding of the Federation of Communists (1848/1852), form the chief contents of the fifth, sixth, and seventh volumes.

The essays, pamphlets, and books written by Marx and Engels during the years following the revolution (1852/1862), are so numerous, that no fewer than seven volumes are to be devoted to them.

The essays, manifestos, and resolutions issued by Marx and Engels during the period of the I. International (1864/1876) will be contained in the fifteenth volume.

The essays and books written by Engels between 1876 and the time of his death will require at least two volumes.

The second division is devoted to Marx' chief economic work, "Capital". Comprehensive and hitherto unpublished portions of Marx' manuscripts will be included, as well as all the preliminary studies made for "Capital".

The greatest difficulty incident to the preparation of the volumes of this division is the establishment of the text. The necessity of comparing the latest author's edition with the earlier ones and with the manuscripts, in which we find at times several conceptions of the same paragraph, the examination of the alterations made by Engels in Marx' wording, the great mass of economic works which have never yet been published, the utilisation of the scattered observations, critical notes, and literary surveys contained in Marx' numerous notebooks — all this represents a task which would require several years even with a great division of labour, were not fairly narrow confines laid down for it from the beginning by the intimate inner connection of the material in itself.

This division will consist of no fewer than thirteen volumes.

The third division will contain the letters of Marx and Engels; firstly their correspondence with one another, then their letters to Lassalle, Weydemeyer, Kugelmann, Freiligrath, Sorge, Liebknecht, Bebel, Adler, Nikolaion, Conrad Schmidt — to name only the most important groups —, further all other letters which are not so closely bound up with definite periods of the life or works of Marx or Engels that it has been possible to incorporate them in the corresponding earlier volumes.

Strict chronological order has again not been possible in this division, since — and this is the main reason — it is desired to publish the complete correspondence between Marx and Engels as soon as possible. The Bernstein edition is so full of gaps, that the letters and passages from letters which have been omitted would form in themselves a further volume of the same size. The correspondence between Marx and Engels certainly belongs to those historical documents the complete publication of which in an authentic form is an urgent scientific necessity<sup>2)</sup>. The separate classification of this correspondence, preceding the rest of the letters, again breaks the strict chronological order.

<sup>2)</sup> The exceptional importance of the Marx-Engels correspondence — recognised even by H. Oncken and G. Schmoller at the time of the publication of the Bernstein edition — was recently emphasised in a lecture given by Ernst Müsebeck, the

<sup>1)</sup> "Communist Manifesto". Engels' preface 28th June 1883.

As the fourth division we shall publish, in the last two volumes, a detailed subject and name index to all the volumes of the complete edition of the works of K. Marx and F. Engels. We intend to make this index a manual, listing in dictionary form the whole of the subjects, terms, fundamental conceptions, and problems mentioned and dealt with in the works of Marx and Engels. The method adopted is the classification in chronological order in one place of all matters coming under one heading. The register of names will contain all historical personages and the authors quoted by Marx and Engels, so that an idea can be gained of the development of the judgments formed by them on individual persons, and of the degree of influence exercised on them by other thinkers. This register will greatly facilitate the work of students of the history and theory of Marxism, and will stimulate a more intense study of the works of Marx and Engels.

This index division can, of course, not be published until all other editorial work has been done. Until its appearance, each separate volume of the complete addition will be accompanied by a brief informative index.

The introductions to the separate volumes will deal in general with the origins and occasions of the various writings, showing to what stage of development and study they belong, and will further explain in detail the methods employed in producing this edition. Historical and theoretical introductions and inquiries, or detailed commentaries, would go beyond the scope of this edition. As we have already emphasised, its highest object is to create the first and most important objective basis for an exhaustive study of Marx and Engels, or in other words, to reproduce the whole of the works of these two classical writers in a scientifically irreproachable form. The notes and other additions to the volumes of the first division will, therefore, be restricted to a general rule to a statement of the most important contemporary material immediately concerned with the text (should this not be easily accessible), and to a facilitation of references to persons, conditions, and events by a liberal reference to sources and literature.

## TEN YEARS AGO

### The First Steps of the Coalition Government.

Everything for the War.

Petrograd, 7th August. (Petrograd Telegraph Agency.)

The first session of the new Provisional Government has been held. The President, Kerensky, made the following statement in his opening speech:

The new cabinet will have to devote its main attention to the questions of home defence and the organisation of the country behind the front, and especially to the economic life and finances of the country. Kerensky called upon all the members of the government to redouble their efforts, both with respect to the organisation and firmer establishment of power, and with respect to the increased activity of the separate branches of administration. Kerensky's address was followed by a speech from the Minister for Foreign affairs, dealing with his impending journey to the staff headquarters.

### "Iron Discipline" and the Persecution of Bolsheviks in the Army.

Petrograd, 12th August. (Petrograd Telegraph Agency.) Savinkoff, th chargé d'affaires in the War Ministry, declared to a representative of the "Isvestia", the organ of the Workers' and Soldiers' Soviets, that his greatest anxiety was for the restoration of an iron discipline in the army. But discipline demands above all authority, and this can only be secured by the collaboration of plenipotentiaries of the government in the army. Neither the commanders-in-chief nor selected committees,

director of the national archives at Potsdam. And this although the lecturer was of the opinion that, in general, the publication of sources of reference relating to recent history is of questionable value in view of the great mass of existing material. (Archiv F. Politik u. Geschichte. Jg. IV. 1926. p. 316).

composed of changing persons, can enhance the fighting powers and discipline of the war.

Savinkoff declared it to be necessary to eliminate all officers unpractised in administration or showing military incapacity. At the same time severe and effective measures must be taken to combat all elements of disintegration in the army, and all Maximalist tendencies.

**Kopenhagen, August 12.** According to a report from Petrograd, Kerensky has sent a notice to all military governors and commanders-in-chief of the troops, calling upon them to shrink at nothing in maintaining order and discipline in the army.

### Against the Socialist Emigrés.

**Stockholm, August 7.** — It is reported from a reliable source that the Russian government has ordered its consulates to deal with the returning political fugitives, as far as their passports are concerned, in precisely the same manner as with private travellers. In the socialist circles of Stockholm this is declared to be a complete annulment of the amnesty proclaimed at the time of the victory of the revolution.

### Destroying the Right to strike.

**Berne, August 8.** — "Progrés de Lyon" reports from Petrograd: The government has resolved to punish the incitement to strike among the railwaymen by three years imprisonment. Measures have been taken to ensure the regular running of trains on the main lines.

### Abolition of the Right of Meeting.

**Petrograd, August 11.** — (Petrograd Telegraph Agency.) The government has invested the Minister of the Interior and for War, for the duration of the war, with the right to prohibit or close all meetings and congresses which may represent, from a military standpoint or from the standpoint of public safety, a source of danger.

### Kerensky has Trotzky and Lunatscharsky Arrested.

The "Times" reports from Petrograd, August 5., that Kerensky has ordered the arrest of Trotzky and Lunatscharsky as sharing responsibility for the recent risings.

### The Bourgeois Campaign against the Soviets.

**Stockholm, August 11.** — The correspondent of the Bolshevik "Pravda" adduces a private session of the Duma, convened by Rodzianka, as proof of the growth of reactionary tendencies in Russia. The socialists did not attend this meeting, and entered a protest against it, as the Duma no longer possesses legality. At this session the pogrom hero Purishkevitch, who has not been able to be found since the outbreak of the Revolution, put in an appearance again. He, with the Cadet Manlenikoff and — in a milder form — Milyukoff, demanded that the government should at last put an end to the Workers' and Soldiers' Council, and should co-operate exclusively with the Duma. The first two speakers were in favour of the ascension to the throne of the Grand-Duke Michael, the brother of the ex-tsar.

The meeting of Petrograd officers held the day before made the same demands.

### A New Bolshevik Newspaper.

**Petrograd, August 8.** — (Rabotshi i Soldat.) The Bolsheviks have been able to publish a large new daily paper of the R. S. D. A. P. (Bolshevik) in the Georgian language.

### The Movements for National Independence.

**Kiev, August 7.** — The Kiev correspondent of the Lausanne Ukraine Bureau wires: Within a few days the first congress of the nationalities of Russian will be opened in Kiev. More than 20 nationalities will take part in this congress: Finns, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, White Russians, Georgians, Jews, Tartars, Armenians, Kalmucks, Baschkirs, Sarts, Turks, and several other Caucasian mountain peoples. Each nationality has the right, apart from the number of its population and its political importance, to be represented at the congress by ten

delegates. The main question to be discussed are: 1. The organisation of the future Russian federal state, The limits of each autonomous unit and the rights of the national minorities.

With reference to the separatist movement in the Ukraine army, the Stockholm correspondent of the Ukraine Bureau wires: The separatist movement in the Ukrainian regiments continues. The Russian newspapers just arriving in Sweden report a great many details of the movement, not restricted to Ukrainia alone, but extending to Muscovite Russia, Finland, and even to Siberia.

### Bessarabia Demands Autonomy.

Paris, August 8., 1917. — "Petit Parisien" reports from Petrograd: In view of the impending conference between the Provisional Government and Ukrainian deputies, the Bessarabian Committee has informed the Provisional Government that Bessarabia is opposed to being incorporated in Ukraine, and demands autonomy.

### THE EFFECT OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION ABROAD.

Madrid, August, 11. (Havas.) The railwaymen at the North station went on strike in the evening of 10th August. The organised staff ceased work. Immediate steps were taken. Some persons were arrested for distributing pamphlets. Traffic is as usual on the North lines, goods trains are not running. In the provinces it is perfectly quiet.

Madrid, August 12. (Havas.) Traffic is being maintained with a certain amount of regularity on the North lines. In Valladolid groups of workers were dispersed by the police. Some of the participators in the demonstration were injured. There is some ferment observable in the Bilbao district; special precautions were taken in Mirando.

In Leon armed soldiery dispersed the insurgents, who expressed the intention of occupying the station.

### Election Manifesto of the Swedish Left.

Stockholm, August 9. — "Politiken" publishes a long election appeal of the newly-founded Left Socialist party.

This appeal first attacks the Right as the party oppressing the people and furthering military armaments, then accuses the Liberals of vacillation, and finally assails the Socialist party, from which the Left Socialists split off only a few months ago. Branting's party is charged with having sacrificed socialist principles to civic peace, with having sanctioned the expenditure on the army, and with having entirely abandoned the whole fight for the rights of the people, for cheap food for the people, and against bureaucracy. At the present moment, when great upheavals are taking place all over the world, or are impending, things in Sweden must not remain just as they were. Among the programmatic aims of the election appeal are given: The republic, the complete abolition of all military organisation and of the upper house, total prohibition of alcohol free trade, permanent democratic control of foreign policy, complete democratisation and far reaching restrictions on bureaucracy. The appeal closes with the slogans: "Peace to the cottage, war to the palace!", "Freedom, Bread, people's rights!"

## The New Government.

By I. Stalin.

(From "Rabotshi i Soldat", 8th August 1917.)

The antics of the ministers have ceased. The new government is formed. Cadets, would-be Cadets, Social Revolutionaries, Mensheviki — this is the constitution of the government.

The Cadet party is satisfied. The chief demands of the Cadets have been accepted. These demands will form the basis of the activity of the new government.

The Cadets have achieved a strengthening of the government at the expense of the Soviets, the independence of the government from the Soviets. The Soviets, led by "bad shepherds" from the midst of the Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviki, have let themselves be driven into this concession, and have thereby signed their own death warrant.

The provisional Government as sole power — this is what the Cadets have achieved.

The Cadets demand that the army be made "sound"; that is, they demand "iron discipline" in the army, but subjection of the army to its immediate superiors, who again are responsible only to the government. The Soviets guided by the Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviki, made this concession too, and thereby disarmed themselves in the interests of . . . "the salvation of the country".

Soviets without an army, and an army subordinate to the government — this is what the Cadets have achieved.

The Cadets demanded unconditional unity with the allies. The Soviets concurred "decisively" in this demand in the interests . . . "of home defence", and forgot their "international" declarations. The so-called programme of 21st July was thereby abandoned.

War "without pardon", war "to the last man", — this is what the Cadets have achieved.

Let us hear what the Cadets themselves say:

"There is no doubt that the demands of the Cadets will form the basis for the activities of the whole government . . . The main demand of the Cadets having been acceded to, the Party could not possibly continue the quarrel on specifically Party disagreements. The Cadets are well aware that under present conditions "very little time or possibility will remain over for the doctrinaire elements of the notorious programme of 21th July." ("Ryetsch").

This is surely clearly enough expressed.

There was a time when the Soviets created a new life, when they introduced revolutionary reforms, and forced the Provisional Government to embody these reforms in decrees and enactments.

This was in March-April.

At that time the Provisional Government followed in the leading strings of the Soviets, and covered by its own revolutionary form the revolutionary measures of the Soviets.

But now a point has been reached where the Provisional Government turns the wheel backwards, and introduces counter-revolutionary "reforms", and the Soviets "are forced" to confirm these reforms in their diluted resolutions.

Now the Central Executive, the representative of all the Soviets, goes in the leading strings of the provisional Government, and covers the counter-revolutionary character of this Government by a revolutionary phraseology.

An exchange of roles has obviously taken place — but not to the advantage of the Soviets.

Yes, the Cadets have reason "to be satisfied".

But how long their satisfaction will last the near future will show.

## The Revolutionary Movement Defies the Measures of Suppression.

Berlin, 14th August. In spite of all measures of force, Kerevsky's system of dictatorship does not appear to be able to suppress the counter-movement fed by the war weariness of the people. In spite of the ban placed upon them, the Bolsheviki meet together, Lenin and Zinoviev are said to be still in Russia, and the breaches of discipline are apparently not ceasing.

### The Bolsheviki Win over the Masses.

Petrograd, 16th August. ("Novaya Schisny.") During the last few weeks, since the events of 16th to 18th July, many have placed high hopes on a turn in the working class. This turn has come about. But in what direction?

The elections to various offices in the works and factories have yielded the following results: The last election of functionaries for the sick clubs of the "Novi Lessner" and "Stari Lessner" works resulted in the election, out of 100 delegates, of 15 S. R., 5 Mensheviki, and 80 Bolsheviki. Before this election the Bolsheviki had less than half of their Party comrades as delegates.

In the "Erichsohn" works 14 S. R. and 39 Bolsheviki were elected out of a total of 60 functionaries.

In the "Treugolnik" undertaking 70 Bolsheviki were elected out of 100 functionaries. Before this election the Mensheviki had the majority here.

The recent reelections to the Soviets show the same results. The Bolsheviks were elected to the Soviet of the Franco-Russian undertaking; these delegates have hitherto been S. R. and Mensheviks. In the "Kengensippen" undertaking a Bolshevik was elected in place of the former S. R. deputy.

#### Opening of the Party Conference of the Bolsheviks.

Stockholm, 13th August. The "Stockholm Tidningen" reports from Haparanda that an All Russian Conference of representatives of the Bolshevik and Internationalist organisations has been opened in Petrograd. Lenin was appointed as one of the honorary presidents. The Conference approved the standpoint of the Central Committee and the insurgent movement of 16 and 17. July. The rumour that Lenin and Zinoviev had gone abroad was declared to be false.

#### THE EFFECT OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION ABROAD. Fresh Strike Movement among the German Armament Workers

Berlin, 15th August. It is reported semi-officially that leaflets have again been distributed of late in munition factories, calling upon the workers to strike. It is expected that the patriotism of the German workers will arouse them to reply with proper contempt to this suggestion from anonymous agitators when our troops are fighting against so many difficulties in East and West.

#### Street Fights in Madrid and Barcelona.

Geneva, 15th August. "Echo de Paris" reports from Barcelona: The captain general reports: The authorities were obliged to resort to weapons. Five persons were killed, nine wounded. Troops have arrived in Barcelona, under the command of the chief of the general staff, General Weyler, to reinforce the troops there.

## The 6th Party Conference of the Bolsheviks.

#### Opening meeting.

Petrograd, 10th August. (Report of the Bolshevik news paper "Rabotschi i Soldat", published in place of the prohibited "Prada".) Comrade Olminsky opened the Party Conference, on 8th August, on behalf of the organisation Bureau, with a resumé of the history of former Party Conferences.

Comrades Olminsky, Lomov, Sverdlov, Stalin, and Yurenev were elected as presidium. Comrade Lenin was elected, amidst great enthusiasm, as honorable president of the Conference.

Comrade Sverdlov made the following statement on behalf of the Organisation Bureau: As early as the April conference it was resolved to take steps towards promoting the unification of the Bolsheviks with those internationalist Mensheviks who have broken off all organisational connection with the social patriots. The resolutions passed by the conference of both organisations have been essentially the same in import; their actions have been similar in character, even without previous agreement. The question of unification has become urgent. The Conference of the Internationalists resolved that the unification should only take place at a Party Congress. Nevertheless, an understanding has already been arrived at with respect to comrade Trotzky joining the editorial staff. The Organisation Bureau preparing the Party Conference has been formed of representatives of both organisations.

The Party Congress passed a resolution sending messages to the arrested comrades, further to comrades Liebknecht, MacLean, and Friedrich Adler.

After a lengthy discussion the following agenda was accepted; 1. Report of the Organisation Bureau; 2. Report of the C. C.; 3. Report from the provinces; 4. The situation: a) the war and the international situation, b) the political and economic situation; 3. Revision of the Party programme; 6. Organisational questions; 7. Elections to the Constituent Assembly; 8. The question of the International; 9. The unification of the Party; 10. Trade union movement; 11. Elections; 12. Miscellaneous. The session closed at 8 o'clock in the evening.

#### Second Day.

Petrograd, 10th August. The sitting began with comrade Stalin's report of the activities of the C. C. At the beginning of this report comrade Stalin made the following declaration: "The fundamental fact, determining the whole character of the life of the C. C., is above all the fact of the development of our revolution, which approaches the question of intervention in economic conditions in the form of the control of production, in the form of the transference of land to the peasantry, in the form of the transference of power from the bourgeoisie to the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils. All this is determinative of the profound character of our revolution. It begins to assume the character of a socialist and proletarian revolution.

The work accomplished by the C. C. in the month of May has been threefold: 1. Municipal elections; 2. Agitation against the war, and 3. Soviet elections. At the Petrograd municipal elections we received about 20% of 800,000 votes cast, and gained an absolute majority in the Wyborg district Duma. We organised a number of protest meetings against the sentence passed on Friedrich Adler, and against the war.

The speaker closed his address with a description of the attitude taken by the Party during the July events. (This part of comrade Stalin's speech has already been published in the "Imprekor", No. 42 Ed.)

Comrade Sverdlov reported on the organisational work of the C. C. At the present time we have 162 organisations with a total of 200,000 members.

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Petrograd, 11th August. ("Rabotschi i Soldat.") At the evening session held on 9th August comrade Volodarsky reported on the Petrograd organisation. The Petrograd organisation comprises 36,012 members. Our Party is the leader of the whole Petrograd proletariat; the influence exercised by the Mensheviks and the S. R. on the proletarian masses is entirely insignificant. That the Petrograd Soviet retains its Menshevik majority is due to the unjust distribution of the mandates; 500,000 workers have only 500 representatives in the Soviet, whilst 100,000 to 120,000 soldiers sent 1000 delegates.

The trade unions are entirely under the influence of the Party. The majority of the Central Council of the Factory Councils is at one with our Party. The youth League has already 50,000 members.

The events of 16th of 18th July have not weakened our forces, nor the influence of our organisations on the proletarian masses; this is shown by the fact that the number of Party members increased by 2300 in July, and by the successes won by our Party in the bye-elections to the Soviets in the canon workshops of the Putilov Works and other undertakings.

After reports from the provinces had been heard, the session was adjourned.

## The Political Situation at the Sixth Congress of the R. S. D. L. P.

By S. P.

The VI. Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party, July 26—August 23, 1927, was the first congress after a prolonged interval. The last congress preceding that one was held in London in 1907. From 1907 to the end of 1917 no Party congresses could be held. That was a period of severe reaction and persecution, and the difficulties in the way of convening a congress were insurmountable.

The VI. Party Congress met under unique circumstances. The workers' demonstrations of July 3—5, had been crushed and the Bolshevik leaders imprisoned. The Provisional Government had declared an irreconcilable campaign of persecution against the Bolsheviks. The Party papers were suppressed. Bolsheviks were arrested in groups and imprisoned throughout the land. The labour organisations were smashed. At the front the soldiers were threatened with capital punishment. The coalition government, the government of the Mensheviks and S.R.s, putting down the demonstrations of the proletariat and the peasantry, became an absolute puppet of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and their generals. The bourgeoisie and their generals were on the offensive along the whole line. The Provisional Government issued orders and circulars, one after

another. It purged the army energetically in an endeavour to get full control of it once more. It declared war against the peasantry in their struggle for land. It directed all its forces towards the crushing of the ideologists, leaders and organisers of the proletarian and peasant movement — the Bolsheviks.

Every means was resorted to in the struggle against the Bolsheviks, including the accusation that Lenin was a German agent. The Provisional Government utilised the national defence illusions of the petty-bourgeoisie not only in driving them to the front, but also in crushing its political adversary.

After the events of July 3—5, Lenin began to work underground. The VI. Congress, as a matter of fact, was also convened in a semi-clandestine manner. It met when the bourgeoisie was actually triumphant, when the counter-revolution was having a respite and when the Soviets were continuously being relegated to a backward position and helping the bourgeoisie, thus becoming an organ working in the workers' ranks in the interests of the bourgeoisie.

There were present at the VI. Congress representatives of 162 organisations counting a membership of about 200,000. In April the Party had only 78 organisations with 80,000 members; by the end of July the membership had almost trebled. Taking into consideration the conditions under which the Congress was convened — the dark reaction and the triumph of the bourgeoisie — the growth of the Party membership shows that the revolutionary processes were gaining momentum among the workers and peasants. It shows also that although the bourgeoisie utilised the Provisional Government of the Mensheviks and S. R. S. nevertheless, under the rule of the same Provisional Government, that is to say, under the rule of the bourgeoisie through the Mensheviks and the S. R.s, the revolutionary forces were increasing.

The VI. Party Congress had to sum up the developments of the past stage of the revolution and point out its further prospects. Comrade Lenin was not at the Congress as he was in hiding. Many leaders were in jail. The bourgeoisie thought that it had decapitated the Congress. But the Congress, even without its leaders, made a sharp and clear prognosis of the situation and pointed out in a Bolshevik manner the immediate aims and perspectives of the Party. The Congress clearly understood and placed on record, that a period of the blackest reaction prevailed in the country, but it saw that eventually not the bourgeoisie and the counter-revolution will triumph, but the proletariat and the peasantry. The Congress saw the coming revolution. It saw the imminent developments and the outbreak of new proletarian struggles. It clearly understood that, regardless of the fact that it met in a period of temporary counter-revolutionary victory, a new surge in the proletarian and peasant movement is coming.

The Congress was faced with the task of utilising the extraordinary circumstances and of issuing suitable slogans. Prior to the VI. Congress, the Bolsheviks circulated among the proletariat and the peasantry the slogan "All Power to the Soviets". At the time of the VI. Congress the Soviets which the Bolsheviks had called upon to take power were in the hands of the Mensheviks and S. R.s and became a plaything in the hands of the counter-revolution. The counter-revolution was attacking the Soviets. The Soviets were feeble, and retreated. The slogan "All Power to the Soviets" still maintained its full merits, but could not be advanced owing to strategical reasons. The Government had to go over to the Soviets, but not to those Soviets which were in the hands of the counter-revolutionary generals and which were a pliable instrument in the hands of Kerensky, Chkheidze, Aksentiev and Dan, the Mensheviks and S. R.s.

In view of the coming surge of the revolution, the growing revolutionary forces of the proletariat and the peasantry, and taking also into consideration the peculiar circumstances of the period which had converted the Soviets into an instrument of the compromisers, the VI. Party Congress, without abandoning the hope of establishing a Soviet Government and the transition of power to the hands of the proletariat and the peasantry, did not advance the slogan "All Power to the Soviets", but a new slogan which was to bring the Soviets to power.

After having made a prognosis of the situation, decided on the slogans and clearly outlined the aims of the proletariat, the VI. Congress called upon the proletariat in unequivocal terms to prepare for new conflicts. In its manifesto, the VI. Congress declared: "The subterranean forces of history are at work. Profound discontent is ripening in the very heart of the masses... Our Party marches with unfurled banners to the encounter, holding its banners firmly aloft. It has not lowered them in the face of violence, in the face of the dirty slanderers, the traitors of the revolution and capitalist servants... because it knows that a new movement is rising and the fatal hour of the old world is close at hand... Prepare for the new conflicts, our comrades in the struggle. Rally your forces, form your fighting ranks bravely and calmly, not submitting to any provocations."

## Chronicle of Events.

### August 4.

Plenary Session of the Soviet Executive. Trotzky severely attacks the new government: The "socialist ministers" are collaborating in the government with people who are endeavouring to establish the dictatorship of the landowners and capitalists. The representative of the S. R. Saakian, defends the Cadets: "It is high time we give up the idea that the Cadets are a counter revolutionary party." The Executive expresses its confidence in Kerensky by 147 votes to 45 and 42 abstentions.

Arrest of comrades Trotzky and Lunartscharsky.

### August 5.

Opening of the Conference of Moscow Factory Councils. The Moscow Delegates' Conference of the Metal Workers protests against the introduction of the death penalty and against the prohibition of internationalist newspapers.

### August 6.

At the Session of the Executive comrade Ryasanov protests sharply against the arrest of Trotzky and Lunartscharsky.

### August 7.

The 6000 workers of the factory "Novi Lessner" pass a resolution against the social patriots and against the government.

### August 8.

Opening of the 6. Party Congress of the Bolsheviks. 175 delegates present, representing 176,750 members. Resolution passed sending a message to imprisoned and persecuted comrades.

### August 9.

6. Party Congress of the Bolsheviks. Report on C. C. work (Stalin). Discussion. Organisation report of C. C. (Sverdlov). Volodarsky's report on Petrograd organisation.

A meeting representing 27 undertakings in the Peterhof district passed a resolution protesting against the counter-revolutionary measures of the government.

### 10. August.

The Provisional Government empowers the Minister of the Home Department to prohibit congresses and meetings which may be dangerous to the army.

6. Party Congress of the Bolsheviks. Podbielsky reports on the Moscow organisation; Podvoisky on the military organisation; Larin greets the Party Congress on behalf of that wing of internationalist Bolsheviks which is in favour of a rupture with the Soviet patriots. Reports from the provinces follow.

The Conference of the Moscow Factory Councils demands the abolition of the death penalty and the taking over of power by the Soviets, and protests against the persecution of the Bolsheviks.